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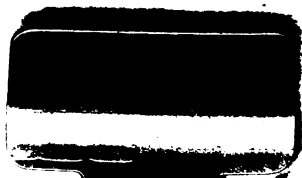
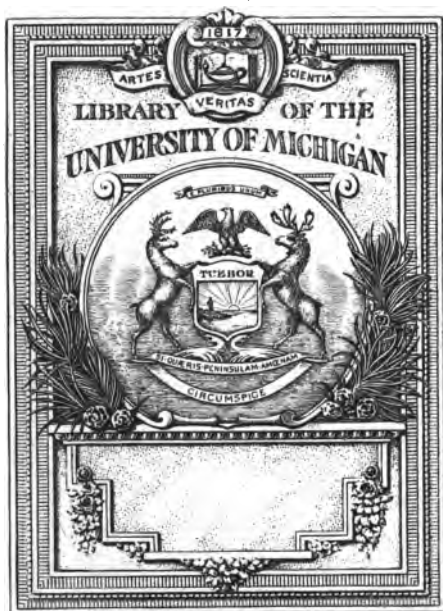
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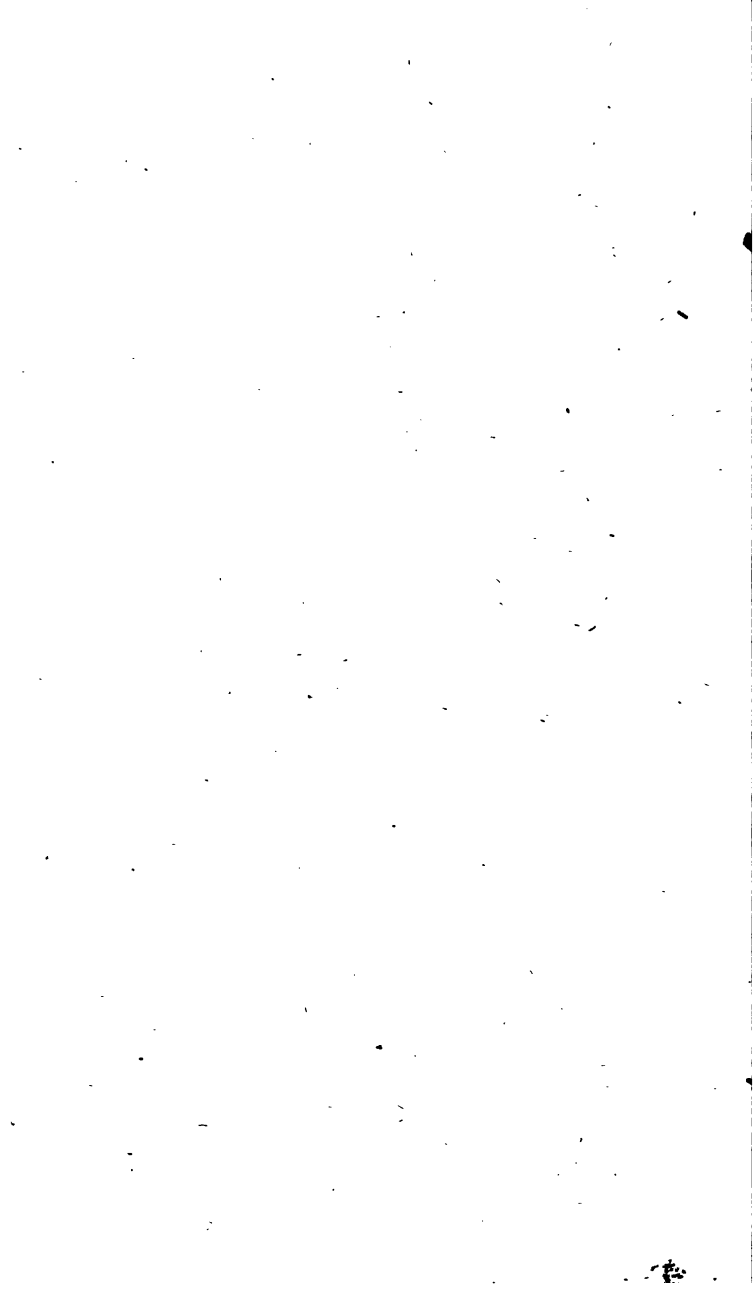


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A SELECT
COLLECTION

OF
ORIGINAL LETTERS;

Written by the most
EMINENT PERSONS,

ON VARIOUS
ENTERTAINING SUBJECTS,

And on many
Important Occasions:

From the Reign of HENRY the Eighth,
to the present Time.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's
Church-Yard*, and R. and J. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall*.

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P R E F A C E.

*SELECT COLLECTION of Letters,
A written by the most eminent
Wits, Statesmen, and Phi-
losophers of our own Nation,
has been greatly wanted. But in making
such a Collection, the chief Difficulty lay
in knowing what to reject. Remarks on
Religion and Government, foreign Ne-
gotiations, and dry Passages of History,
however acceptable they might be to the
Curious, would be very little relished by
the Majority of Readers; yet if all such
were to have been thrown aside, many
Letters in which Wit, Humour, and En-
tertainment were blended with graver
A 2 Matters,*

iv . P R E F A C E .

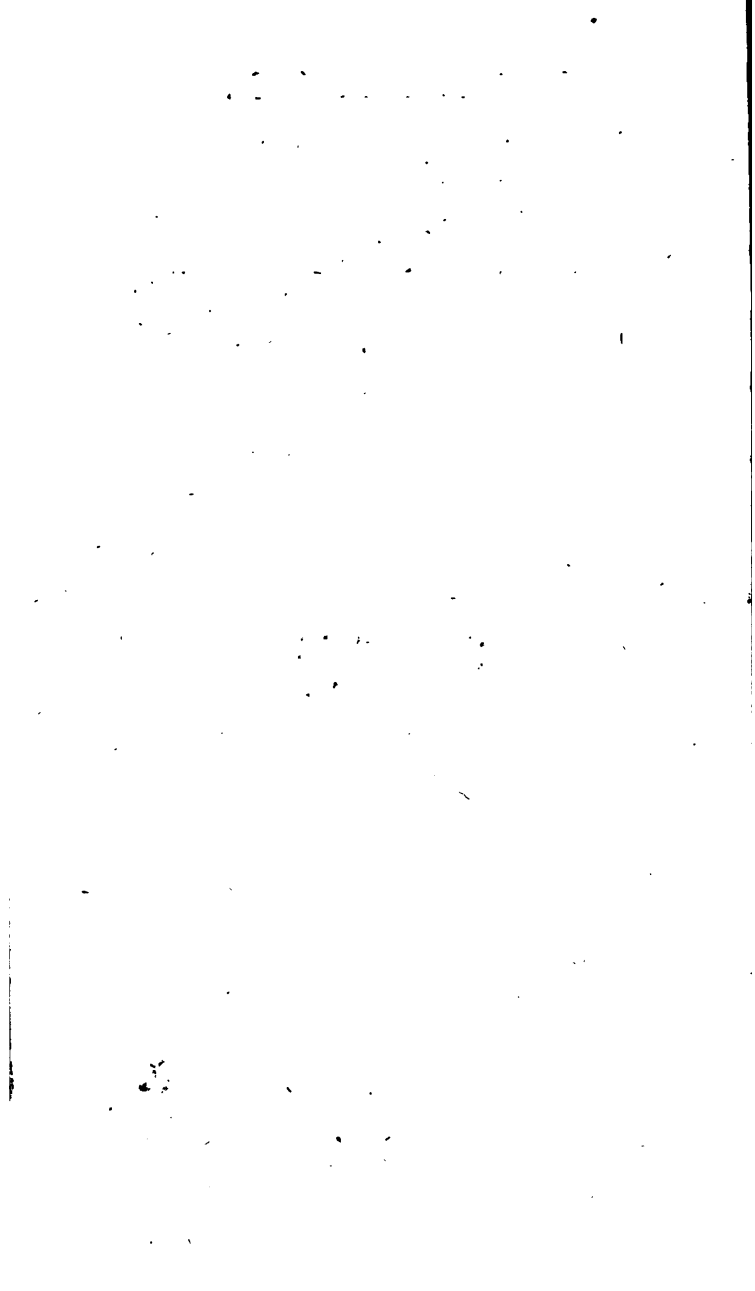
Matters, must also have been omitted. It was therefore thought necessary, not intirely to reject such Letters, and at the same time to admit of none but what were thus seasoned with Pleasantry or Amusement. No Translations of foreign Letters have place in this Collection; the Intention of it being to do Honour to the Men of Genius of our own Country, and to give such natural Pictures of themselves, and the Times they lived in, as History has not furnished.

Whatever Reception these Volumes may meet with from the Public, the Editors of them may say with great Truth, that they are the best Collection of English Letters which have hitherto been published. It was judged proper to insert none of earlier Date than the Reign of Henry the Eighth. The English Language, and indeed the Performances of our Writers, before that Time, not being altogether so intelligible or instructive as to claim a Place in these Volumes.
It

P R E F A C E. v

It is only necessary to observe farther, that no Notice is here taken of those Collections of Letters lately published of Mr. Pope, Doctor Swift and others, as they are almost in everybody's Hands, and fresh in their Memories.







A SELECT
COLLECTION
OF
LETTERS.

LETTER I.

Henry VIII. to Anne Bullen.

My Sweetheart and Friend,

AND my Heart put themselves
into your Hands; begging of you
to take them to your good Favour;
and that, by my being absent from
you, your Affection may not be
diminished towards them; for it
would be a great Pity to augment their Pain; for
Absence gives me enough, and more than ever,
and more than I could have thought; and
calls to my Remembrance a Point of Astro-
nomy,

VOL. I.

B

2. *A select* COLLECTION

mony, which is this, That by how much farther the Moors are distant from the Sun, the Heat is notwithstanding more fervent; so it is with our Love: For though we are personally distant from each other, the Heat of Love remains, at least on our Side, and I hope the same on yours; assuring you, that the Anxiety of Absence is already too great; and when I think of the Augmentation thereof, which I must still suffer, if it was not for the firm Hope I have of your inviolable Affection towards me, to put you in Remembrance of that, since I cannot be personally with you at present. I send you the nearest Likeness to it I can, to wit, my Picture set in Bracelets, the only Device which I have left, wishing myself in their Place whenever it shall please you. Written by the Hand of

Your Servant and Friend.

LETTER. II.

To the SAME.

THE Uneasiness I bore, by being uncertain of your Health, gave me a great deal of Trouble; nor could I enjoy any Quiet without knowing the Truth: but as you have as yet felt nothing, I hope I may assure you that you will escape * it, as I hope we have; for we were at *Waltham*, where two Ushers, two Valets de Chambre, your Brother, and Master Treasurer fell sick, but are now perfectly recovered; since which we betook ourselves to your House at *Hondson*, where, God be praised, we are very well for the present;

* The Sweating Sickness.

and

of LETTERS.

3

and I believe, if you will retire from *flurry*, as we have done, you will escape it without any Danger. And to give you still greater Comfort, I am informed, of a Truth, that very few or no Women have fell sick, but none of our Court, and that very few in these Parts have died; wherefore I beg of you, my dearly beloved, to harbour no Fear, nor to give yourself Uneasiness at our Absence: For wheresoever I am, I am yours. Notwithstanding we must sometimes obey the Will of Fortune; for who will, in some Things, strive against her, are often drove the farthest back; wherefore comfort yourself, and be courageous, and sling away all Evil as far as you can. I hope soon to make you sing the Return. Time, at present, will let me write no more, but that I wish myself in your Arms, to ease you of your just Thoughts. Written by the Hand of him who is, and ever shall be,

Yours.

LETTER III.

To the SAME.

THE examining the Contents of your Letters put me into a very great Agony, not knowing how to understand them, whether to my Disadvantage, as in some others I understand; begging of you, with a sincere Heart, to inform me of your Intentions, in regard to the Love between us. Necessity obliges me to insist on this Answer, having, for more than a Year past, been pierced by a Dart of Love, not being assured where to find Place in your Heart and Affection; which certain last Point has guarded me a little while in

this, not to call you my Mistress, with which, if you love me but with a common Love, this Name is not appropriated to you; for that denotes a Singularity vastly different from common Love. But if you have a Mind to perform the Part of a truly loyal Mistress and Friend, give yourself Body and Heart to me, who would be, and has been long, your most loyal Servant. If with Rigour you do not forbid me, I promise, that not only the Name shall be due to you, but likewise take you for my Mistress; rejecting and treating others, in comparison of you, far from Thought and Affection, and to serve you only; begging of you to give me a full Answer to this rude Letter, on which, and in which I may trust. But if you do not please to give an Answer in Writing, appoint some Place where I may have it by Word of Mouth, and with a willing Heart I will meet you at the Place. No more, for fear of incommoding you. Written with the Hand of him who would willingly remain

Yours.

L E T T E R I V .

To the S A M E .

I Heartily thank you for your handsome Present, than which, well weighing the whole, nothing is more beautiful, not only for the beautiful Diamond, and Vessel in which the solitary Damsel is tossed; but principally for the beautiful Interpretation and most humble Submission, by your Goodness in this Case made use of, well thinking, that to merit this by Opportunity will be very difficult, if your great Humanity and Favour did not

not assist me, for which I have watched, watch, and will watch all Opportunities of Retaliation possible; to remain in which, my whole Hope has placed its immutable Intention, which says, *aut illic, aut nullibi.*

The Demonstrances of your Affection are such, the beautiful Words, the Letters so affectionately couched, which, in Truth, oblige for ever to honour you, love and serve you; begging of you to continue in this firm and constant Purpose; on my Part assuring you, that I will rather augment it, than make it reciprocal, if Loyalty of Heart, Desire of pleasing you, without any other Motive, may advance it; praying you, that if any Time heretofore I have given you Offence, that you would give me the same Pardon that you ask; assuring you, that for the future my Heart shall be wholly dedicated to you, much desiring that the Body might be also, as God can do it, if he pleases, to whom I beg once a Day to do it, hoping that, in Time, my Prayers may be heard, wishing the Time to be short, thinking it very long to our Review. Written by the Hand of my Secretary, who, in Heart, Body, and Will, is

Your loyal and most assured Servant.

LETTER V.

To the SAME.

Approaching near the Time, which has seemed so long to me, I rejoice the more, because it seems to me almost come, notwithstanding the entire Accomplishment cannot be till the two Persons are met; which Meeting is more desired on

my Part than any worldly Thing: For what Satisfaction can be so great in this World, as to enjoy the Company of one's most dearly Beloved, knowing that she has the same Pleasure on her Side? The Thought of which gives me a deal of Pleasure; then judge what must the Person do, whose Absence has given me more Heart-achings than Tongue or Writing can express, and which nothing but her Presence can remedy? Begging you, my Dear, to tell your Father on my Part, to come two Days before the Time appointed, that he may be at Court before, or at least on the Day fixed; for otherwise I shall think that he made not the Course of the Amorous, nor answered my Expectation. No more at present, for want of Time; hoping very soon that, by Word of Mouth, I shall tell you the Pains I have suffered during your Absence. Written by the Hand of my Secretary, who wishes himself now privately with you, who is, and ever will be,

Your loyal and most assured Servant.

LETTER VI.

To the SAME.

Darling,

THESE shall be only to advertise you, that this Bearer and his Fellow be dispatched with as many Things to compass our Matter, and to bring it to pass, as our Wits could imagine or devise; which brought to pass, as I trust by their Diligence it shall be shortly, you and I shall have our desired End, which should be more to my Heart's Ease, and more Quietness to my Mind than

than any other Thing in this World, as, with God's Grace, shortly I trust shall be proved; but not so soon as I would it were. Yet I will insure you there shall be no Time lost that may be won, and further cannot be done, for *ultra posse non est esse*. Keep him not too long with you; but desire him, for your Sake, to make the more Speed: For the sooner we shall have Word from him, the sooner shall our Matter come to pass. And thus, upon Trust of your short Repair to *London*, I make an End of my Letter, mine own Sweetheart. Written with the Hand of him, who desireth as much to be yours, as you do to have him.

LETTER VII.

Queen Anne Bullen to King Henry.

S I R,

YOUR Grace's Displeasure, and my Imprisonment, are Things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a Truth, and so obtain your Favour) by such an one, whom you know to be mine ancient professed Enemy, I no sooner received this Message by him, than I rightly conceived your Meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a Truth, indeed, may procure my Safety, I shall, with all Willingness and Duty, perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine, that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not so much as a Thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a Truth, never Prince

had Wife more loyal in all Duty, and in all true Affection, than you have ever found in *Anne Bullen*; with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your Grace's Pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I, at any Time, so far forget myself in my Exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an Alteration as now I find: For the Ground of my Preferment being on no surer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the least Alteration, I know, was fit and sufficient to draw that Fancy to some other Subject. You have chosen me, from a low Estate, to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my Desert and Desire. If then you found me worthy of such Honour, good your Grace let not any light Fancy, or bad Counsel of mine Enemies, withdraw your princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy Stain, of a disloyal Heart towards your good Grace ever cast so foul a Blot on your most dutiful Wife, and the infant Princess your Daughter. Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial; and let not my sworn Enemies sit as my Accusers and Judges: Yea, let me receive an open Trial (for my Truth shall fear no open Shame) then shall you see either mine Innocence cleared, your Suspicion and Conscience satisfied, the Ignominy and Slander of the World stopped, or my Guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open Censure, and mine Offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at Liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy Punishment on me, as an unlawful Wife, but to follow your Affection, already settled on that Party, for whose Sake I am now as I am, whose Name I could, some good while

while since, have pointed unto your Grace, being not ignorant of my Suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous Slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired Happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great Sin therein, and likewise mine Enemies, the Instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict Account for your unprincipely and cruel Usage of me, at his general Judgment-seat, where both, you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose Judgment, I doubt not (whatsoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared. My last and only Request shall be, that myself may only bear the Burthen of your Grace's Displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of those poor Gentlemen, who, as I understand, are likewise in strait Imprisonment for my sake. If ever I found Favour in your Sight, if ever the Name of *Anne Bullen* hath been pleasing in your Ears, then let me obtain this Request; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any farther, with my earnest Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Prison in the Tower, the 6th of *May*,

Your most loyal,

And ever faithful Wife,

ANNE BULLEN,

L E T T E R VIII.

*An original Letter from Lady More to
Mr. Secretary Cromwell.*

Right Honorable, and my especyall gud Maister
Secretaſſe: In my most humble Wyſe I re-
commend me unto your gud Maisterſhypp, know-
legging myſelf to be moſt deply boundyn to your
gud Maisterſhypp, for your manyfold Gudneſſe,
and lovyng Favor, both before this Tyme, and
yet dayly, now alſo ſhewyd towards my poure
Huſband and me. I pray Almyghtye God con-
tinew your Gudnes ſo ſtyll, for thereupon hangith
the greateſt Part of my poure Huſband's Comfort
and myne. The Cauſe of my Wrytyng, at this
Tyme, is to certyfy your eſpeciall gud Maister-
ſhypp of my great and extreme Neceſſyte; which,
on and beſydes the Charge of myn own Houſe,
doe pay weekly 15 Shillings for the Bord-wages of
my poure Huſband, and his Servant; for the mayn-
taining whereof, I have ben compellyd, of verey
Neceſſyte, to ſell Part of myn Apparell, for lack
of other Subſtance to make Money of. Where-
fore my moſt humble Petition and Sewte to your
Maisterſhypp at this Time, is to deſire your Mai-
ſterſhip's favorable Advyſe and Counſell whe-
ther I may be ſo bold to attend upon the King's
moſt gracyouſe Highnes. I truſt theyr is no Dowte
in the Cauſe of my Impediment; for the yonge
Man, being a Ploughman, had been dyſeaſed with
the Aggue by the Space of three Years before
that he departed. And beſides this, it is now fyve
Weeks ſith he departed, and no other Perſon dyſ-
ealed

eased in the House sith that Tyme; wherefore I most humblye beseeche your especyall gud Maister-shypp (as my only Trust is, and ells knowe not what to doe, but utterly in this World to be undone) for the Love of God to consyder the Premisses; and therupponn, of your most subundant Gudnes, to shewe your most favorable Helpe to the comfortyng of my poure Husband and me, in this our great Hevynes, extreme Age, and Necessyte. And thus we, and all ours, shall dayly, duryng our Lyves, pray to God for the prosperous Success of your ryght honorable Dygnyte.

By your poure contynuall Oratryx,

DAME ALIS MORE.

To the Ryght Honourable, and her especyall gud Maister, Maister Secretarye.

LETTER IX.

Lady Stafford to Mr. Secretary Cromwell.

MAfter Sekrytory, after my pour Reecommandacions, which ys finally to be regardyd off me that ame a pour banyshd Kreatur—Thys shall be to desyre you to be goode to my pour Houshonde and to me. I am seur yt ys nat oneknone to you the hy Dyspleasure that bothe he and I have bothe of the Kyngs Hynes and the Queens Gras, by the Reason of our Maryagge wytheout thayr Knollyge, wheryn we bothe doe yeld our selfs faulty, and doe knollyge that we dyd nat walle to be so hasty nor so bold wytheout thayr Knollyge. But wene Thynge, good Master Sekretory, confedar, that he was younge, and Love ovarcaine Reason; and

and for my Part, I saw so myche Oneſty yn hym, that I loyd hyme as well as he dyd me, and was yn Bondagge, and glade I was to be at Lybarty: So that for my Part I saw that all the World dyd ſete ſo lytyll by me, and he ſo myche, that I thoute I could take no betar Way but to take hyme, and to forſake all othar Ways, and lyve a pour oneſte Lyffe wythe hym; and ſo I doe pout no Douts but we ſhould, if we myht wons be ſo hapy to recouper the Kyng's graſhyous Favour and the Quen's. For well I myht a had a greater Mane of Birth, and a hyhar; but I ynſuer you I could nevar a had wone that ſhould a loyd me ſo well, nor a mor oneſt Man. And byfydes that, he ys bothe come offe an aunſſyent Stok, and agayn as mete (yeff yt was hys Graſſys Pleſaur) to doe the Kyng Servys as any young Jentyllmane yne hys Court. Therefore, good Maſtar Sekretery, thys ſhall be my Sute to you, that for the Loue that well I knio, you doe ber to all my Bloude, tho' for my Part I have not deſarvyd yt but ſinally, bye the Reſſone of my vylle Condaſhyons, as to pout my Houſband to the Kyng's Gras, that he may doe hys Duty as all outhar Jentyllmene doe; and, good Maſtar Sekretery, ſue for us to the Kyng's Hynes, and beſhych, his Hynes, whyche ever was wount to take Pety, to have Pety one ous; and that yt woull ples hys Gras, of his Goodines, to ſpeke to the Quen's Gras for ous; for as far as I cane paſſayve, her Gras ys ſo hyly dyspleſſed wyth ous both, that wythoute the Kyng be ſo Good Lord to ous, as to wythdraw hys Reguor, and ſue for ous, we are nevar lyke to recovar har Graſys Favour, whych ys to hevy to ber. And ſeinge ther ys no Remydy, for God's Sake help ous—for we have byne now a quarter off a yer maryyd, I thanke God, and to late now to call

call that agayn; wherfor yt ys the more Almones to helpe. Bout yeffe I war at my Leberly and myhte chous, I ynseure you, Mastar Sekretory, for my lytyll Tyme I haue tryyd so myche Onesty to be yne hym, that I had rathar beg my Bred wyth hym, thane to be the gretyst Quene kryftynd—and I bylyve veryly he ys yne the same Cas wythe me, for I bylyve veryly a would nat forsake me to be a Kyng; therfor, good Mastar Sekretory, beyng we are so well together, and does ynetende to lyve so oneste a Lyffe, though yt be but pour, shou Part of your Goodenes to ous, as well as you doe to all the Worlde byfyds; for I promys you ye have the Name to helpe all them that hathe Nede, and amonkst all your Suetars, I dar be bolde to say that you have no Mater more to be pytyed thane ours; and therfor for God's sake be good to ous, for yne you ys all our Troust; and I beshych you, good Mastar Sekretory, pray my Lord my Father, and my Lady, to be good to ous, and to lete me have thayr Blessyngs, and my Housband thayr good Wyll, and I wooll never desyr mor off them. Also I pray you desyr my Lorde of *Norfolke*, and my Lorde my Brouther to be good to ous; I darnat wryte to theme, they-ar so cruel agaynst ous; but yeff wyth any Payne that I could take wyth my Lyffe I myght wynether good Wyls, I promys you ther ys no Chyld lyvying would ventar mor than I; and so I pray you to report by me, and you shall fynd my Wrytyng true, and yn all poynts, whyche I may ples theme yne, I shall be redy to obay theme neryst my Husband, home I ame moste bound to, to, whom I most hartly beshych you to be good unto, whyche for my Sake, ys a pour banyshed Mane, for an onest and a godely cawes; and beyng that I have red yne old Bouks, that some, for

aws ioust Cauffys, have by Kyns and Quens byn
pardonnyed by the Suete of good Folks, I trouft
yt shall be our Chans, theurow your good Help, to
come to the same, as knyeth the God, who sende
you Helthe and Harts ese. Seryblyd wyth her yll
Hande, who ys your pour humble Suytor always to
commande,

MARY STAFFORD.

*To the Right Wausstypfull,
and my syngular good Frynde,
Mastar Sekretory, to the King's*

Hynes thys be, S.

LETTER X.

Earl of Essex to Queen Elizabeth.

FROM a mind delighting in Sorrow, from Spirits
wasted with Passion, from a Heart torne in
Pieces with Care, Grief and Travel, from a Man
that hateth himself and all Things that keepeth him
alive, what Service can your Majesty expect, since
your Service past deserves no more then Banishment
or Prescription in the cursedest of all other Coun-
tries? Nay, nay, it is your Rebel's Pride and Suc-
cess that must give me Leave to ransom my Life out
of this hatefull Prison of my loathed Body; which
if it happen so, your Majesty shall have no Cause
to mislike the Fashion of my Death, since the
Course of my Life could never please you.

Your Majesty's exiled Servant,

RO. ESSEX.

LETTER

of LETTERS.

LETTER XI.

Lord Chancellor Egerton to the E. of Essex.

My very good Lord,

IT is often seen, that he that stands by seeth more than he that playeth the Game; and, for the most Part, every one in his own Cause standeth in his own Light, and seeth not so clearly as he should. Your Lordship hath dealt in other Men's Causes, and in great and weighty Affairs, with great Wisdom and Judgment; now your own is in Hand, you are not to contemn or refuse the Advice of any that love you, how simple soever. In this Order I rank myself among others that love you, none more simple, and none that love you with more true and honest Affection; which shall plead my Excuse if you shall either mistake or mistrust my Words or Meaning. But, in your Lordship's honourable Wisdom, I neither doubt nor suspect the one nor the other. I will not presume to advise you, but shoot my Bolt, and tell you what I think. The beginning and long Continuance of this so unseasonable Discontentment you have seen and proved, by which you aim at the End: If you hold still this Course, which hitherto you find to be worse and worse (and the longer you go, the further you go out of the Way) there is little Hope or Likelihood the End will be better: You are not yet gone so far, but that you may well return: The Return is safe, but the Progress is dangerous and desperate in this Course you hold. If you have any Enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves: Your Friends you leave to Scorn and Contempt; you forsake your-
self,

self, and overthrow your Fortunes, and ruinate your Honour and Reputation: You give that Comfort and Courage to the foreign Enemies, as greater they cannot have; for what can be more welcome and pleasing News, than to hear that her Majesty and the Realm are maimed of so worthy a Member, who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your Country, when it hath most Need of your Counsell and Aid: And lastly, you fail in your indissoluble Duty which you owe unto your most gracious Sovereign, a Duty imposed upon you not by Nature and Policie only, but by the religious and sacred Bond wherein the divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the Rule of Christianity obliged you.

For the four first, your constant Resolution may perhaps move you to esteem them as light; but being well weighed, they are not light, nor lightly to be regarded. And for the four last, it may be that the Clearness of your own Conscience may seem to content yourself; but that is not enough; for these Duties stand not only in Contemplation or inward Meditation, and cannot be performed but by external Actions, and where that faileth, the Substance also faileth. This being your present State and Condition, what is to be done? What is the Remedy, my good Lord? I lack Judgment and Wisdom to advise you, but I will never want an honest true Heart to wish you well; nor, being warranted by a good Conscience, will fear to speak that I think. I have begun plainly, be not offended if I proceed so. *Bene credit qui cedit temporari*: And *Seneca* saith, *Cedendum est fortuna*. The Medicine and Remedy is not to contend and strive, but humbly to yield and submit. Have you given Cause, and yet take a Scandal unto you? then all
your

you can do is too little to make Satisfaction. Is Cause of Scandal given unto you? Yet Policie, Duty and Religion enforce you to sue, yield, and submit to our Sovereign, between whom and you there can be no equal proportion of Duty, where God requires it as a principal Duty and Care to himself, and when it is evident that great Good may ensue of it to your Friends, yourself, your Country, and your Sovereign, and extreme Harm by the contrary: There can be no Dishonour to yield; but in denying, Dishonour and Impiety. The Difficulty (my good Lord) is to conquer yourself, which is the Height of true Valour and Fortitude, whereunto all your honorable Actions have tended. Do it in this, and God will be pleased, her Majesty (no doubt) well satisfied, your Country will take Good, and your Friends Comfort by it; and yourself (I mention you last, for that of all these you esteem yourself least) shall receive Honour; and your Enemies (if you have any) shall be disappointed of their bitter sweet Hope.

I have delivered what I think simply and plainly: I leave you to determine according to your own Wisdom: if I have erred, it is *error amoris*, and not *amor erroris*. Construe and accept it, I beseech you, as I meant it; not as an Advice, but as an Opinion to be allowed or cancelled at your Pleasure. If I might conveniently have conferred with yourself in Person, I would not have troubled you with so many idle Blots. Whatsoever you judge of this my Opinion, yet be assured my Desire is to further all good Means that may tend to your Lordship's Good. And so wishing you all Happiness and Honour, I cease.

Your Lordship's most ready and faithful,
though unable poor Friend,

THO. EGERTON, Cust. Sigil.
LETTER

LETTER XII

The Earl's Answer.

MY very good Lord,—Though there is not that Man this day living whom I would sooner make Judge of any Question that might concern me, then yourself; yet you must give me Leave to tell you, that in some Cases I must appeal from all earthly Judges: And if in any, then surely in this, when the highest Judge on Earth hath imposed upon me the heaviest Punishment, without Triall or Hearing. Since then I must either answer your Lordship's Arguments, or else forsake mine own just Defence, I will force mine aking Head to do me Service for an Hour. I must first deny my Discontentment (which was forced) to be an humorous Discontent; and in that it was unseasonable, or is so long continuing, your Lordship should rather condole with me then expostulate: naturall Seasons are expected here below, but violent and unreasonable Storms come from above: There is no Tempest to the passionate Indignation of a Prince, nor yet at any Time so unseasonable as when it lighteth on those that might expect an Harvest of their carefull and painfull Labours. He that is once wounded must needs feel Smart till his Hurt be cured, or the Part hurt become senseless. But Cure I expect none, her Majesty's Heart being obdurate; and be without Sense I cannot, being of Flesh and Blood. But you may say, I aim at the End: I do more than aim, for I see an End of all my Fortunes, I have set an End to all my Desires. In this Course do I any Thing for mine Enemies? When I was present I found them absolute,

late, and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their Chariots. Or do I leave my Friends? When I was a Courtier I could sell them no Fruit of my Love and now that I am an Hermit, they shall bear no Envie for their Love to me. Or do I forsake myself, because I do not enjoy myself? Or do I overthrow my Fortunes, because I build not a Fortune of Paper-Walls, which every Puff of Wind bloweth down? Or do I ruinate mine Honor, because I leave following the Pursuit, or wearing the false Mark or the Shadow of honor? Do I give Courage or Comfort to the Enemies, because I neglect myself to encounter them, or because I keep my Heart from Business, though I cannot keep my Fortune from declining? No, no, I give every one of those Considerations his due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I find myself justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last Objections, that I forsake my Countrey when it hath most Need of me, and fail in that Indissoluble Duty which I owe to my Sovereign; I answer, That if my Countrey had at this Time any Heed of my Publick Service, her Majesty that governeth it, would not have driven me to a private Life. I am tied to my Countrey by two Bonds; one publick, to discharge carefully and industriously that Trust which is committed to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my Life and Carkasse, which hath been nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed by her Majesty: Of the other nothing can free me but Death, and therefore no Occasion of Performance shall sooner offer itself, but I will meet it halfe Way. The indissoluble Duty I owe unto her Majesty, the Service of an Earle and of Marshall of *England*, and I have been content

tent to do her the Service of a Clerk ; but I can never serve her as a Villain or a Slave. But you say I must give Way to Time. So I do ; for now that I see the Storm come, I have put myself into Harbour. *Seneca* saith, we must give Way to Fortune. I know that Fortune is both blind and strong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of the Way. You say the Remedy is not to strive : I neither strive nor seek for Remedy. But you say, I must yield and submit : I can neither yield myself to be guilty, nor this my Imprisonment lately laid upon me, to be just ; I owe so much to the Author of Truth, as I can never yield Truth to be Falshood, nor Falshood to be Truth. Have I given Cause, you ask, and yet take a Scandall ? No, I gave no Cause to take up so much as *Fimbria* his Complaint : for I did *totum telum corpore accipere* ; I patiently bear and sensibly feel all that I then received when this Scandall was given me. Nay, when the vilest of all Indignities are done unto me, doth Religion enforce me to sue ? Doth God require it ? Is it Impiety not to do it ? Why ? Cannot Princes erre ? Cannot Subjects receive Wrong ? Is an earthly Power infinite ? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord, I can never subscribe to these Principles. Let *Solomon's* Fool laugh when he is stricken ; let those that mean to make their Profit of Princes, shew to have no Sense of Princes Injuries ; let them acknowledge an infinite Absoluteness on Earth, that do not believe an absolute Infiniteness in Heaven. As for me, I have received Wrong, I feel it ; my Cause is good, I know it ; and whatsoever comes, all the Powers on Earth can never shew more Strength or Constancy in oppressing, than I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed upon me. Your Lordship in the Beginning
of

of your Letter makes me a Player, and yourself a Looker on; and me a Player of my own Game, so you may see more then I; but give me Leave to tell you, that since you do but see, and I do suffer, I must of Necessity feel more then you. I must crave your Lordship's Patience to give him that hath a crabbed Fortune, leave to use a crooked Stile. But whatsoever my Stile is, there is no Heart more humble, nor more affected towards your Lordship, than that of

Your Lordship's poor friend,

E s s e x.

L E T T E R XIII.

Sir Philip Sidney to Q, Elizabeth.

MOST feared and beloved, most sweet and gracious Sovereign,—To seek out Excuses of this my Boldness, and to arm the Acknowledging of a Fault with Reasons for it, might better shew, I know I did amiss; than any Way diminish the Attempt; especially in your Judgment, who being able to discern lively into the Nature of the Thing done, it were Folly, to hope, by laying on better Colours, to make it more acceptable. Therefore carrying no other Olive-branch of Intercession, than the laying of myself at your Feet; nor no other Insinuation, either for Attention or Pardon, but the true vowed Sacrifice of unfeigned Love, I will in simple and direct Terms (as hoping they shall only come to your merciful Eyes) set down the Overflowings of my Mind, in this most important Matter: Importing, as I think, the Continuance of
your

your Safety; and (as I know) the Joys of my Life. And because my Words (I confess, shallow; but, coming from the deep Well-spring of most loyal Affection) have delivered unto your most gracious Ears, what is the general Sum of my travelling Thoughts therein; I will now but on-ly declare, what be the Reasons that make me think that the Marriage with *Monsieur* will be unprofitable to you: Then, will I answer the Objections of those Fears, which might procure so violent a Refuge. The Good or Evils that will come to you by it, must be considered, either according to your Estate, or Person. To your Estate: What can be added to the being an Absolute born, and accordingly, Respected Princess? But, as they say, the *Irishmen* were wont to call over them that dye, They are Rich, they are Fair, what needed they to dye so cruelly? Not unfitly to you, endowed with Felicity above all others, a Man might well ask, What makes you in such a Calm, to change Course? To so healthful a Body, to apply so unsavoury a Medicine? What can recompence so hazardous an Adventure? Indeed, were it but the altering of a well maintained, and well approved Trade: For, as in Bodies Natural, every sudden Change is full of Peril: So, this Body politick, whereof you are the only Head, it is so much the more dangerous, as there are more Humours, to receive a hurtful Impression. But Hazards are then most to be regarded, when the Nature of the Patient is fitly compos'd to occasion them.

The Patient I account your Realm, the Agent *Monsieur*, and his Design; for neither outward Accidents do much prevail against a true inward Strength, nor doth inward Weakness lightly subvert it

himselſ, without being thruſt at by ſome outward Force.

Your inward Force (for as for your Treasures indeed, the Sinews of your Crown, your Majesty doth beſt and only know) conſiſteth in your Subjects, generally unexpert in warlike Defence: And as they are divided now into mighty Factions (and Factions bound upon the never dying Knot of Religion) the one of them to whom your happy Government hath granted the free Exerciſe of the eternal Truth; with this, by the Continuance of time, by the Multitude of them, by the principal Offices and Strength they hold; and laſtly, by your Dealings both at Home and Abroad againſt the Adverſe Party, your State is ſo entrapped, as it were impoſſible for you, without exceſſive Trouble, to pull yourſelf out of the Party ſo long maintained. For ſuch a Courſe once taken in Hand, is not much unlike a Ship in a Tempeſt, which how dangerously ſoever it be beaten with Waves, yet is there no Safety or Succor without it: Theſe therefore, as their Souls live by your happy Government, ſo are they your chief, if not your ſole Strength. Theſe, howſoever the Neceſſity of humane Life make them lack, yet can they not look for better Conditions than preſently they enjoy: theſe, how their Hearts will be galled, if not alienated, when they ſee you take a Husband, a *Frenchman*, and a *Papiſt*; in whom (howſoever fine Wits may find further Dealings or painted Excuses) the very common People well knew this, that he is the Son of a *Jezabel* of our Age; that his Brother made Oblation of his own Siſter's Marriage, the eaſier to make Maſſacres of our Brethren in Belief; that he himſelf, contrary to his Promiſe, and all Gratefulneſs, having had his Liberty, and
principal

principal Estate by the *Hugonites* Means, did sack *Lacharists*, and utterly spoil them with Fire and Sword: This I say, even at the first Sight, gives Occasion to all truly Religious to abhor such a Master, and consequently to diminish much of the hopeful Love they have long held to you.

The other Faction (most rightly indeed to be called a Faction) is the *Papists*; Men, whose Spirits are full of Anguish; some being infested by others, whom they accounted damnable; some having their Ambition stopped, because they are not in the Way of Advancement; some in Prison, and Disgrace; some, whose best Friends are banished Practisers; many thinking you are an Usurper; many thinking also, you had disannulled your Right, because of the Pope's Excommunication; all burdened with the Weight of their Conscience; Men of great Numbers, of great Riches, (because the Affairs of State have not lain on them) of united Minds (as all Men that deem themselves oppressed, naturally are) with these I would willingly join all discontented Persons, such as Want and Disgrace keeps lower than they have set their hearts. Such as have resolved what to look for at your Hands; such, as *Cæsar* said, *Quibus opus est bello civili*; and are of his Mind; *Malo in acie quàm in foro cadere*: These be Men so much the more to be doubted, because, as they do embrace all Estates, so are they, commonly, of the bravest and wakefullest Sort, and that know the Advantage of the World most. This double Rank of People, how their Minds have stood, the *North-ern* Rebellion, and infinite other Practises have well taught you: Which, if it be said, it did not prevail, that is true indeed; for, if they had prevailed, it were too late now to deliberate. But,
at

at this present, they want nothing so much as a Head, who, in effect, needs not but to receive their Instructions, since they may do Mischief enough only with his Countenance. Let the *Signigian* in *Henry* the Fourth's Time, *Perkin Warbeck* in your Grandfather's; but of all, the most lively and proper, is that of *Lewis* the *French* King's Son in *Henry* the Third's Time, who having at all no Shew of Title, yet did he cause the Nobility, and more, to swear direct Fealty and Vassalage; and they delivered the strongest Holds unto him. I say, let these be sufficient to prove, that Occasion gives Mind and Scope to stranger things than ever would have been imagined. If then the affectionate Side have their Affections weakened, and the Discontented have a Gap to utter their Discontent; I think, it will seem an ill Preparative for the Patient, I mean your Estate, to a great Sicknels.

Now the agent Party, which is *Mounseur*, whether he be not apt to work upon the Disadvantage of your Estate, he is to be judged by his Will and Power: his Will to be as full of light Ambition as is possible; besides the *French* Disposition, and his own Education, his inconstant Attempt against his Brother, his thrusting himself into the *Low Country* Matters, his sometime seeking the King of *Spain's* Daughter, sometimes your Majesty, are evident Testimonies of his being carried away with every Wind of Hope: taught to love Greatness any way gotten, and having for the Motioners and Ministers of the Mind, only such young Men as have shewed they think evil Contentment a Ground of any *Rebellion*; who have seen no Common-wealth but in Faction, and divers of which have defiled their Hands in odious Murders. With such Fancies, and Favourites, what is to be hoped

for? Or that he will contain himself within the Limits of your Conditions, since in truth it were strange, that he that cannot be contented to be the second Person in *France*, and Heir apparent, should be content to come to be second Person, where he should pretend no way to Sovereignty? His Power, I imagine, is not to be despised, since he is come into a Country where the Way of Evil-doing will be presented unto him: where there needs nothing but a Head to draw together all the ill-affected Members: himself a Prince of great Revenues, of the most popular Nation of the World, full of Soldiery, and such as are used to serve without Pay, so as they may have Shew of Spoil; and without question shall have his Brother ready to help him, as well for old Revenge, as to divert him from troubling *France*, and to deliver his own Country from evil Humours. Neither is King *Philip's* Marriage herein any Example; since then it was between two of one Religion; so that he in *England* stood only upon her Strength, and had abroad King *Henry* of *France*, ready to impeach any Enterprize he should make for his Greatness that way. And yet, what Events Time would have brought forth of that Marriage, your most blessed Reign hath made vain all such Considerations. But Things holding in present State, I think, I may easily conclude, that your Country, as well by long Peace and Fruits of Peace, as by the Poison of Division (wherewith the Faithful shall by this means be wounded, and the contrary enabled) is made fit to receive Hurt; and *Monsieur* being every way likely to use the Occasions to hurt, there can almost happen no worldly Thing of more imminent Danger to your Estate Royal. And as to your Person, in the Scale of your Happiness, what
Good

Good there may come by it, to balance with the Loss of so honourable a Constancy, truly yet I perceive not. I will not shew so much Malice, as to object the universal Doubt, the Race's Unhealthfulness; neither will I lay to his Charge the Ague-like manner of Proceedings, sometimes hot and sometimes cold in the time of Pursuit, which always rightly is most fervent. And I will temper my Speeches from any other unreverend Disgracings of him in particular (though they may be never so true) this only I will say, that if he do come hither, he must live here in far meaner Reputation than his Mind will well brook, having no other Royalty to countenance himself with; or else you must deliver him the Keys of your Kingdom, and live at his Discretion; or lastly, he must separate himself with more Dishonour, and further Disuniting of Heart, than ever before. Often have I heard you with Protestation say, no private Pleasure or Self-affection could lead you unto it; but if it be both unprofitable for your Kingdom, and unpleasant to you, certainly it were a dear Purchase of Repentance. Nothing can it add unto you, but the Bliss of Children, which I confess were a most unspeakable Comfort. But yet no more appertaining unto him, than to any other to whom the Height of all good Haps were allotted, to be your Husband; and therefore I may assuredly affirm, that what Good soever can follow Marriage, is no more his than any body's; but the Evils and Dangers are peculiarly annexed to his Person and Condition. For as for the enriching of your Country with Treasure, which either he hath not, or hath otherwise bestowed it; or the staying of your Servants Minds with new Expectation and Liberality, which is more dangerous than fruitful; or the easing

of your Majesty of Cares, which is as much as to say, the easing of you to be Queen and Sovereign; I think every body perceives this way either to be full of Hurt, or void of Help. Now resteth to consider, what be the Motives of this sudden Change; as I have heard you in most sweet Words deliver. Fear of standing alone, in respect of Foreign Dealings; and in them from whom you should have Respect, Doubt of Contempt. Truly standing alone with good Foresight of Government, both in Peace and warlike Defence, is the honourablest Thing that can be to a well established Monarchy. Those Buildings being ever most strongly durable, which lean to none other, but remain from their own Foundation.

So yet in the Particulars of your Estate presently, I will not altogether deny, that a true *Maffissa* were very fit to countermine the Enterprize of mighty *Carthage*. But how this general Truth can be applied unto *Mounseur*, in truth I perceive not. The Wisest, that have given best Rules where surest Leagues are to be made, have said, That it must be between such as either vehement Desire of a third Thing, or as vehement Fear doth knit their Minds together. Desire is counted the weaker Bond; but yet that bound so many Princes to the Expedition of the *Holy Land*. It united that invincible *Henry V.* and that good Duke of *Burgundy*; the one desiring to win the Crown of *France* from the *Dauphin*, the other, desiring to revenge his Father's Murder upon the *Dauphin*, which both tended to one. That coupled *Lewis XII.* and *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, to the Conquest of *Naples*. Of Fear, there are innumerable Examples. *Mounseur's* Desires, and yours; how they should meet in public Matters, I think no Oracle can tell: for,

as the *Geometricians* say, that *Parallels*, because they maintain divers *Lines*, can never join; so truly, two having in the Beginning contrary Principles, to bring forth one Doctrine must be some Miracle. He, of the *Romish* Religion; and, if he be a Man, must needs have that manlike Property, to desire that all Men be of his Mind. You, the Erector and Defender of the contrary, and the only Sun that dazleth their Eyes. He, *French*, and desiring to make *France* great; your Majesty, *English*, and desiring nothing less than that *France* should grow great. He, both by his own Fancy, and his youthful Governors, embracing all ambitious Hopes, having *Alexander's* Image in his Head, but perhaps evil painted. Your Majesty, with excellent Virtue, taught what you should hope; and by no less Wisdom, what you may hope; with a Council renowned over all *Christendom*, for their well tempered Minds, having set the utmost of their Ambition in your Favour, and the Study of their Souls in your Safety.

Fear hath as little Shew of outward Appearance, as Reason, to match you together; for in this Estate he is in, whom should he fear? His Brother? Alas! his Brother is afraid, since the King of *Navarre* is to step into his Place. Neither can his Brother be the safer by his Fall; but he may be the greater by his Brother's; whereto whether you will be an Accessary, you are to determine. The King of *Spain*, certainly, cannot make war upon him, but it must be upon all the Crown of *France*, which is no likelihood he will do. Well may *Mounseur* (as he hath done) seek to enlarge the Bounds of *France* upon his State; which likewise, whether it be safe for you to be a Countenance to, any other way, may be seen. So that

if neither Desire nor Fear be such in him, as are to bind any public Fastness, it may be said, that the only Fortress of this your Marriage, is of his private Affection; a Thing too incident to the Person laying it up in such Knots.

The other Objection of Contempt in the Subjects, I assure your Majesty if I had not heard it proceed out of your Mouth, which of all other I do most dearly reverence, it would as soon (considering the Perfections both of Body and Mind have set all Mens Eyes by the Height of your Estate) have come to the Possibility of my Imagination, if one should have told me, on the contrary Side, that the greatest Princes of the World should envy the State of some poor deformed Pilgrim. What is there either within you, or without you, that can possibly fall into the Danger of Contempt, to whom Fortunes are tried by so long Descent of your Royal Ancestors? But our Minds rejoyce with the Experience of your inward Virtues, and our Eyes are delighted with the Sight of you. But because your own Eyes cannot see yourself, neither can there be in the World any Example fit to blaze you by, I beseech you vouchsafe to weigh the Grounds thereof. The natural Causes are Lengths of Government, and Uncertainty of Succession. The Effects, as you term them, appear by cherishing some abominable Speeches which some hellish Minds have uttered. The longer a good Prince reigneth, it is certain the more he is esteemed. There is no Man ever was weary of well-being; and Good increased to Good, maketh the same Good both greater and stronger; for it useth Men to know no other Cares, when either Men are born in the Time, and so never saw other; or have spent much part of their flourishing.

flourishing Time, and so have no Joy to seek other. In evil Princes, Abuse growing upon Abuse, according to the Nature of Evil, with the Increase of Time, ruins itself: but in so rare a Government, where Neighbours Fires give us Light to see our Quietness, where nothing wants that true Administration of Justice brings forth, certainly the Length of Time rather breeds a Mind to think there is no other Life but in it, than that there is any Tedioufness in so fruitful a Government. Examples of good Princes do ever confirm this, who the longer they lived, the deeper still they sunk into the Subjects Hearts. Neither will I trouble you with Examples, being so many and manifest. Look into your own Estate; how willingly they grant, and how dutifully they pay such Subsidies as you demand of them; how they are no less troublesome to your Majesty in certain Requests, than they were in the Beginning of your Reign: and your Majesty shall find you have a People more than ever devoted to you.

As for the Uncertainty of Succession, although for mine own Part, I know well I have cast the utmost Anchor of my Hopes, yet for *England's* Sake I would not say any thing against such Determination; but that uncertain Good should bring Contempt to a certain Good. I think it is beyond all Reach of Reason: nay because, if there were no other Cause (as there are infinite) common Reason and Profit would teach us to hold that Jewel dear, the Loss of which would bring us to we know not what: which likewise is to be said of your Majesty's Speech of the *Rising-sun*; a Speech first used by *Scylla* to *Pompey* in *Rome*, as then a popular City, where indeed Men were to rise or fall, according to the Flourish and Breath

of a many headed Confusion. But in so lineal a Monarchy, wherever the Infant sucks the Love of their rightful Prince, who would leave the Beams of so fair a Sun, for the dreadful Expectation of a divided Company of Stars? Virtue and Justice are the only Bonds of Peoples Love: and as for that Point, many Princes have lost their Crowns, whose own Children were manifest Successors; and some, that had their own Children used as Instruments of their Ruin. Not that I deny the Bliss of Children, but only to shew Religion and Equity to be of themselves sufficient Stays. Neither is the Love, borne in the Queen your Sister's Days; any Contradiction hereunto; for she was the Oppressor of that Religion which lived in many Mens Hearts, and whereof you are known to be the Favourer. By her Loss, was the most excellent Prince in the World to succeed; by your Loss, all Blindness light upon him that sees not our Misery. Lastly, and most properly to this Purpose, she had made an odious Marriage with a Stranger; (which is now in question whether your Majesty should do or no) so that if your Subjects do at this time look for any After-chance, it is but as the Pilot doth to the Ship-boat, if his Ship should perish; driven by Extremity to the one; but, as long as he can with his Life, tending the other. And this I say, not only for the lively Parts that be in you, but even for their own Sakes, since they must needs see what Tempests threaten them.

The last Proof of this Contempt should be the venomous Matter certain Men impostumed with Wickedness should utter against you. Certainly not to be evil spoken of, neither Christ's Holiness, nor *Cæsar's* Might, could ever prevent or warrant; there

there being for that no other Rule, than so to do, as that they may not justly say Evil of you; which whether your Majesty have not done, I leave it in you, to the Sincereness of your own Conscience, and Wisdom of your Judgment in the World, to your most manifest Fruits and Fame through *Europe*. *Augustus* was told, that Men spoke of him much Hurt; "It is no matter, said he, so long as they cannot do much Hurt." And lastly, *Charles V.* to one that told him, *Le Hollandour parlent mal, mais ilz patient bien*; answered *Le*. I might make a Scholar-like Reckoning of many such Examples. It sufficeth, that these great Princes knew well enough upon what Ways they flew, and cared little for the Barking of a few Curs: And truly in the Behalf your Subjects, I durst with my Blood answer it, that there was never Monarch held in more precious Reckoning of her People; and before God, how can it be otherwise? For my own Part, when I hear some lost Wretch hath defiled such a Name with his Mouth, I consider the right Name of Blasphemy, whose unbridled Soul doth delight to deprave that which is accounted generally most High and Holy. No, no, most excellent Lady, do not raze out the Impression you have made in such a Multitude of Hearts, and let not the Scum of such vile Minds bear any Witness against your Subjects Devotions; which, to proceed one Point further, if it were otherwise, could little be helped, but rather nourished, and in effect begun by this. The only means of avoiding Contempt, are Love and Fear: Love as you have by divers means sent into the Depth of their Souls; so if any thing can stain so true a Form, it must be the trimming yourself, not in your own Likeness, but in new Colours

lours unto them. Their Fear by him cannot be increased without Appearance of *French* Forces, the manifest Death of your Estate; but well may it against him bear that Face, which, as the tragic *Seneca* saith, *Metus in authorem reddit*, as because both in Will and Power he is like enough to do Harm. Since then it is dangerous for your State, as well because by inward Weakness (principally caused by Division) it is fit to receive Harm; since to your Person it can no way be comfortable, you not desiring Marriage; and neither to Person nor State he is to bring any more Good than any body, but more Evil he may; since the Causes that should drive you to this, are either Fears of that which cannot happen, or by this means cannot be prevented; I do with most humble Heart say unto your Majesty (having assayed this dangerous Help) for your standing alone, you must take it for a singular Honour God hath done you, to be indeed the only Protector of his Church; and yet in worldly Respects your Kingdom very sufficient so to do, if you make that Religion upon which you stand, to carry the only Strength; and have aboard those that still maintain the same Course, who, as long as they may be kept from utter falling, your Majesty is sure enough from your mightiest Enemies.

As for this Man, as long as he is but *Monsieur* in Might, and a Papist in Profession, he neither can nor will greatly shield you: and if he grow to be King, his Defence will be like *Ajax's* Shield, which rather weighed down, than defended those that bore it. Against Contempt, if there be any, which I will never believe, let your excellent Virtues of Piety, Justice, and Liberality daily (if it be possible, more and more) shine. Let such particular

particular Actions be found out (which be easy as I think to be done) by which you may gratify all the Hearts of your People. Let those in whom you find Trust, and to whom you have committed Trust in your weighty Affairs, be held up in the Eyes of your Subjects. Lastly, doing as you do, you shall be as you be, the Example of Princes, the Ornament of this Age, the Comfort of the Afflicted, the Delight of your People, the most excellent Fruit of your Progenitors, and the perfect Mirror of your Posterity.

L E T T E R XIV.

*Sir Francis Bacon to Sir George Villiers,
upon the sending his Patent for Viscount
Villiers to be signed.*

S I R,

I Have sent you now your Patent, of Creation of Lord *Bletchly* of *Bletchly*, and of Viscount *Villiers*. *Bletchley* is your own, and I liked the Sound of the Name better than *Whaddon*; but the Name will be hid, for you will be called Viscount *Villiers*. I have put them in a Patent, after the Manner of the Patent for Earls, where Baronies are joined; but the chief Reason was, because I would avoid double Prefaces, which had not been fit; nevertheless the Ceremony of Robing and otherwise must be double.

And now, because I am in the Country, I will send you some of my Country Fruits, which with me are good Meditations; which, when I am in the City, are choked with Business.

After

After that the King shall have watered your new Dignities with the Bounty of the Lands which he intends you, and that some other things concerning your Means, which are now likewise in Intention, shall be settled upon you; I do not see, but you may think your private Fortunes established; and therefore it is now time that you should refer your Actions to the Good of your Sovereign and your Country. It is the Life of an Ox or Beast always to eat, and never exercise; but Men are born (especially Christian Men) not to cramb in their Fortunes, but to exercise their Virtues; and yet the other hath not been the unworthy, and (thanks be to God) sometimes the unlucky Humour of great Persons in our Times. Neither will your Fortune be the further off; for assure yourself, that Fortune is of a Woman's Nature, and will sooner follow by Slighting, than by too much Wooing. And in this Dedication of yourself to the Public, I recommend unto you principally, that which, I think, was never done since I was born; and which, because it is not done, hath bred almost a Wilderness and Solitude in the King's Service; which is, that you countenance, and encourage, and advance, able Men, in all Kinds, Degrees and Professions. For in the time of the *Cecils*, the Father and the Son, able Men were by Design and of Purpose suppressed; and though of late, Choice goeth better, both in Church and Commonwealth, yet Money, and Turn-serving, and cunning Canvasses, and Importunity, prevail too much. And, in Places of Moment, rather make able and honest Men yours, than advance those that are otherwise, because they are yours. As for cunning and corrupt Men, you must (I know) sometimes use them; but keep them at a distance;

distance; and let it appear rather, that you make use of them, than that they lead you. Above all, depend wholly (next unto God) upon the King, and be ruled (as hitherto you have been) by his Instructions; for that is best for yourself. For the King's Care and Thoughts for you, are according to the Thoughts of a great King; whereas your Thoughts concerning yourself, are, and ought to be, according to the Thoughts of a modest Man. But let me not weary you; the Sum is, that you think Goodness the best Part of Greatness; and that you remember whence your Rising comes, and make Return accordingly. God keep you.

August 12, 1616.

L E T T E R XV.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Edward Coke.

Mr. Attorney,

I Thought best once for all to let you know in Plainness what I find of you, and what you shall find of me. I am one that know both mine own Wants and other Mens, and it may be perchance that mine may mend when others stand at a Stay. And surely I may not in public Place endure to be wronged, without repelling the same to my best Advantage to right myself. You are great, and therefore have the more Enviars, which would be glad to have you paid at another's Cost. Since the time I missed the Solicitor's Place, the rather I think, by your means, I cannot expect that you and I shall ever serve as Attorney and Solicitor; but either to serve with another upon your Remove,

or to step into some other Course. So as I am more free than ever I was from any Occasion of unworthy conforming myself to you, more than general Good-manners, or your particular good Usage shall provoke; and if you had not been short-sighted in your own Fortune (as I think) you might have had more Use of me; but that Tide is past. I write not this to shew any Friends what a brave Letter I have writ to Mr. Attorney; I have none of those Humours: but that I have written is to a good End, that is, to the more decent Carriage of my Master's Service, and to our particular better understanding one another. This Letter, if it shall be answered by you in Deed, and not in Word, I suppose it will not be worse for us both; else it is but a few Lines lost, which for a much smaller Matter I would adventure. So this being to yourself, I for my Part rest

Your &c.

FR. BACON.

LETTER XVI.

To the SAME, when Lord Chief Justice in disgrace.

My very good Lord,

THough it be true, that who considereth the Wind and the Rain, shall neither sow nor reap, *Eccles. ix. 15.* yet there is a Season for every Action. And so there is a Time to speak, and a Time to keep silence; there is a Time when the Words of a poor simple Man may profit; and that poor Man in the Preacher which delivered the City by his Wisdom, found, that without this Opportunity,

portunity, the Power both of Wisdom and Eloquence lose but their Labour, and cannot charm the deaf Adder. God therefore, before his Son, that bringeth Mercy, sent his Servant the Trumpeter of Repentance, to level a very high Hill, to prepare the Way before him, making it smooth and streight. And as it is in spiritual Things, where Christ never comes before his Way-maker hath laid even the Heart with Sorrow and Repentance; since self-conceited and proud Persons think themselves too good and too wise to learn of their Inferior, and therefore need not the Physician: so in the Rules of earthly Wisdom, it is not possible for Nature to attain any Mediocrity of Perfection, before she be humbled by knowing herself and her own Ignorance. Not only Knowledge, but also every other Gift (which we call the Gift of Fortune) have Power to pull up earthly—Afflictions only level these Molehills of Pride, plough the Heart, and make it fit for Wisdom to sow her Seed, and for Grace to bring forth her Increase. Happy is that Man therefore, both in regard of heavenly and earthly Wisdom, that is thus wounded, to be cured; thus broken, to be made straight; thus made acquainted with his own Imperfections, that he may be perfected.

Supposing this to be the time of your Affliction, that which I have propounded to myself is, by taking this seasonable Advantage, like a true Friend (though far unworthy to be counted so) to shew you your true Shape in a Glass, and that not in a false one to flatter you, nor yet in one that should make you seem worse than you are, and so offend you; but in one, made by the Reflection of your own Words and Actions, from whose Light proceeds the Voice of the People, which is often not
unfitly

unfitly called the Voice of God. But therein (since I purposed a Truth) I must intreat liberty to be plain, a Liberty at this time I know not whether or no I may use safely; I am sure at other times I could not: yet of this resolve yourself, it proceedeth from Love, and a true Desire to do you good; that you, knowing the general Opinion, may not altogether neglect or condemn it, but mend what you find amiss in yourself, and retain what your Judgment shall approve; for to this end shall Truth be delivered as naked as if yourself were to be anatomized by the Hand of Opinion. All Men can see their own Profit; that Part of the Wallet hangs before. A true Friend (whose worthy Office I would perform, since I fear both yourself and all great Men want such, being themselves true Friends to few or none) is first to shew the other, and which is from your Eyes.

First therefore behold your Errors. In Discourse you delight to speak too much, not to hear other Men; this some say becomes a Pleader, not a Judge. For by this sometimes your Affections are intangled with a Love of your own Arguments, though they be the weaker; and rejecting of those, which when your Affections were settled, your own Judgment would allow for strongest. Thus while you speak in your own Element, the Law, no Man ordinarily equals you; but when you wander (as you often delight to do) you then wander indeed, and give never such Satisfaction as the curious Time requires. This is not caused by any natural Defect, but first for want of Election, when you, having a large and fruitful Mind, should not so much labour what to speak, as to find what to leave unspoken, Rich Soils are often to be weeded.

Secondly,

Secondly, you cloy your Auditory, when you would be observed. Speech must either be sweet or short.

Thirdly, you converse with Books, not Men, and Books specially Humane, and have no excellent Choice with Men, who are the best Books: for a Man of Action and Imployment you seldom converse with, and then but with your Underlings; not freely, but as a Schoolmaster with his Scholars, ever to teach, never to learn. But if sometimes you would in your familiar Discourse hear others, and make election of such as know what they speak, you should know many of these Tales you tell to be but ordinary, and many other things which you delight to repeat, and serve in for Novelties, to be but stale. As in your Pleadings you were wont to insult over Misery, and to inveigh bitterly at the Persons (which bred you many Enemies whose Poison yet swelleth, and the Effects now appear,) so are you still wont to be a little careless in this Point to praise or dispraise upon slight Grounds, and that sometimes untruly, so that your Reproofs or Commendations are for the most part neglected and contemned; when the Censure of a Judge (coming slow but sure) should be a Brand to the Guilty, and a Crown to the Virtuous. You will jest a Man in Public, without respect to the Person's Dignity, or your own. This disgraceth your Gravity more than it can advance the Opinion of your Wit; and so do all Actions which we see you do directly with a Touch of Vain-glory, having no Respect to the true End. You make the Law to lean too much to your Opinion, whereby you shew yourself to be a legal Tyrant, striking with that Weapon where you please, since you are able to turn the Edge any way.

way. For thus the wise Master of the Law gives warning to young Students, that they should be wary, lest while they hope to be instructed by your Integrity and Knowledge, they should be deceived with your Skill, armed with Authority. Your too much Love of the World is too much seen, when having the Living of 10000*l.* you relieve few or none. The Hand that hath taken so much, can it give so little? Herein you shew no Bowels of Compassion, as if you thought all too little for yourself; or that God had given you all that you have (if you think Wealth to be his Gift, I mean that you get well, for I know sure the rest is not) only to that End you should still gather more, and never be satisfied, but try how much you could gather, to account for all at the great and general Audit-day. We desire you to amend this, and let your poor Tenants in *Norfolk* find some Comfort, where nothing of your Estate is spent towards their Relief, but all brought up hither, to the impoverishing of your Country.

In your last, which might have been your best piece of Service to the State, affectioned to follow that old Rule which giveth Justice leaden Heels and iron Hands, you used too many Delays, till the Delinquent's Hands were loosed, and yours bound. In that Work you seemed another *Fabius*; here the Humour of *Marcellus* would have done better. What needed you have sought more Evidences than enough? while you pretended the finding out of more (missing your aim) you discredited what you had found. This best Judgments think, though you never used such Speeches as are sathered upon you, yet you might well have done it, and but rightly: for this Crime was second to none but the Powder-plot; That would have blown up all.

all at one Blow; a merciful Cruelty; This would have done the same by degrees; a lingering, but a sure way: one might by one be called out, till all Opposers had been removed. Besides, that other Plot was scandalous to *Rome*, making Popery odious in the Sight of the whole World: This has been scandalous to the Truth of the whole Gospel; and since the first Nullity to this Instant, when Justice hath her Hands bound, the Devil could not have invented a more mischievous Practice to our State and Church, than this hath been, is, and is like to be. God avert the Evil.

But herein you committed another Fault, that you were too open in your Proceedings, and so taught them whereby to defend themselves; so you gave them time to undermine Justice, and to work upon all Advantages both of Affections and Honour, and Opportunity, and Breach of Friendship, which they have so well followed, sparing neither Pains nor Cost, that it almost seemeth an Offence in you to have done so much indeed, than that you have done no more. You stopt the Confessions and Accusations of some, who perhaps had they been suffered, would have spoken enough to have removed some Stumbling-blocks out of your way; and that you did not this in the Favour of any one, but of I know not what present unadvised Humours, supposing enough behind to discover all, which fell not out so. Howsoever, as the Apostle saith in another Case, you went not rightly to the Truth, and therefore though you were to be commended for what you did, yet you were to be reprehended for many Circumstances in the doing, and doubtless God hath an Eye in this Cross to your Negligence, and the Briers are left to be Pricks in your Sides, and Thorns in your Eyes.

But

But that which we commend you for, are those excellent Parts of Nature, and Knowledge in the Law, which you are indued withal; but these are only good in their good Use. Wherefore we thank you heartily for standing stoutly in the Commonwealth's Behalf, hoping it proceedeth not from a Disposition to oppose Greatness (as your Enemies say) but to do justice, and deliver Truth indifferently, without respect of Persons; and in this we pray for your Prosperity, and are sorry that your good Actions should not always succeed happily. But in the Carriage of this, you were faulty; for you took it in hand in an evil Time, both in respect of the present Business which it interrupted, and in regard of his present Sickness whom it concerned: whereby you disunited your Strength, and made a Gap for the Enemies to pass out at, and to return and assault you.

But now, since the Case so standeth, we desire you to give way to Power, and so to fight, that you be not utterly broken, but reserved intirely to serve the Commonwealth again, and do what Good you can; since you cannot do all the Good you would. And since you are fallen upon this Rock, cast out the Goods to save the Bottom; stop the Leaks, and make towards Land; learn of the Steward to make Friends of the unrighteous Mammon. Those *Spaniards* in *Mexico* who were chased of the *Indians*, tell us what to do with our Goods in our Extremities; they being to pass over a River in their Flight, as many as cast away their Gold swam over safe; but some more covetous, keeping their Gold, were either drowned with it, or overtaken and slain by the Savages. You have received, now learn to give. The *Beaver* learns us this Lesson, who being hunted for his Stones, bites

bites them off: You cannot but have much of your Estate (pardon my Plainness) ill got. Think how much of that you never spake for: how much, by speaking unjustly, or in unjust Causes. Account it then a Blessing of God, if thus it may be laid out for your Good, and not left for your Heir to hasten the wasting of much of the rest, perhaps of all; for so we see God oftentimes proceeds in Judgment with many hasty Gatherers. You have enough to spare, being well laid, to turn the Tide, and fetch all things again. But if you escape (I suppose it worthy of an *if*,) since you know the old Use, that none called in question, must go away uncensured: yet consider, that Accusations make Wounds, and leave Scars; and though you see your Tail behind your Back, yourself free, and the Covert before; yet remember there are Stands. Trust not to reconciled Enemies, but think the Peace is but to secure you for further Advantage. Expect a second and a third Encounter; the main Battle, the Wings are yet unbroken; they may charge you at an Instant, or Death before them. Walk therefore circumspectly; and if at length by means of our good Endeavours and yours, you recover the Favour that you have lost; give God the Glory in Action, not in Words only; and remember us with Sense of your past Misfortune, whose Estate hath, doth, and may hereafter lie in the Power of your Breath. There is a great Mercy in Dispatch. Delays are Torments wherewith we are by degrees rent out of our Estates. Do not you (if you be restored) as some others do, fly from the Service of Virtue to serve the Time, as if they repented their Goodness, or meant not to make a second Hazard in God's House. But rather let this Cross make you
zealous

zealous in God's Cause, sensible in ours, and more sensible in all, which expresses thus. You have been a great Enemy to Papists; if you love God, be so still, but more indeed than heretofore: for much of your Zeal was heretofore wasted in Words. Call to remembrance that they were the Persons that prophesied of that Cross of yours long before it happened; they saw the Storm coming, being the principal Contrivers and Furtherers of the Plot; the Men that blew the Coals, heat the Iron, and made all things ready; they owe you a good turn, and will, if they can, pay it you. You see their Hearts by their Deeds; prove then your Faith so too. The best good Work you can do, is to do the best you can against them, that is, to see the Law severely, justly, and diligently executed. And now we beseech you, my Lord, be sensible both of the Stroke, and Hand that striketh. Learn of *David* to leave *Shimei*, and call upon God; he hath some great Work to do, and he prepareth you for it; he would neither have you faint, nor yet bear this Cross with a Stoical Resolution. There is a Christian Mediocrity worthy of your Greatness. I must be plain, perhaps rash. Had some Notes which you have taken at Sermons, been written in your Heart to practise, this Work had been done long ago, without the Envy of your Enemies: But when we will not mind ourselves, God (if we belong to him) takes us in hand; and because he seeth that we have unbridled Stomachs, therefore he sends outward Crosses, which, while they cause us to mourn, do comfort us; being assured Testimonies of his Love that sends them. To humble ourselves therefore before God, is the Part of a Christian; but for the World and our Enemies, the Counsel of the

the

the Poet is apt ; *Tunc cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*

The last Part of this Counsel you forget, yet none need be ashamed to make use of it ; that so being armed against Casualties, you may stand firm against the Assaults on the Right-hand and on the Left. For this is certain ; the Mind that is most prone to be puffed up with Prosperity, is most weak, and apt to be dejected with the least Puff of Adversity. Indeed she is strong enough to make an able Man stagger, striking terrible Blows ; but true Christian Wisdom gives us Armour of Proof against all Assaults, and teacheth us in all Estates to be content. For though she cause our truest Friends to declare themselves our Enemies, though she give Heart then to the most cowardly to strike us, though an Hour's Continuance countervail an Age of Prosperity, though she cast in our Dish all that ever we have done ; yet hath she no Power to hurt the Humble and Wise, but only to break such as too much Prosperity hath made stiff in their own Thoughts, but weak indeed and fitted for renewing, when the Wise rather gather from thence Profit and Wisdom by the Example of *David*, who said, *Before I was chastised I went wrong.* Now then, he that knoweth the right Way, will look better to his Footing. *Cardan* saith, " That Weeping, Fasting, and Sighing, are " the chief purgers of Grievs." Indeed naturally they help to assuage Sorrow ; but God in this Case is the only and best Physician. The Means he hath ordained are the Advice of Friends, the Amendment of ourselves : for Amendment is both Physician and Cure. For Friends, although your Lordship be scant, yet I hope you are not altogether destitute ; if you be, do but look on
good

good Books, they are true Friends, that will neither flatter nor dissemble; be you but true to yourself, applying what they teach unto the Party grieved, and you shall need no other Comfort nor Counsel. To them, and to God's Holy Spirit directing you in the reading of them, I commend your Lordship, beseeching him to send you a good Issue out of these Troubles, and from henceforth to work a Reformation in all that is amiss, and a resolute Perseverance, Proceeding, and Growth in all that is good, and that for his Glory, the bettering of yourself, this Church and Commonwealth, whose faithful Servant whilst you remain, I remain a faithful Servant to you.

LETTER XVII.

*Dr. Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham:
with Queen Elizabeth's Speech to her Army
at Tilbury Fort.*

I Remember in Eighty-eight, waiting upon the Earl of *Leicester* at *Tilbury* Camp, and in Eighty-nine going into *Portugal* with my noble Master, the Earl of *Essex*, I learned somewhat fit to be imparted to your Grace.

The Queen lying in the Camp one Night, guarded with her Army, the old Lord Treasurer *Burleigh* came thither, and delivered to the Earl the Examination of *Don Pedro*, who was taken and brought in by Sir *Francis Drake*, which Examination the Earl of *Leicester* delivered unto me to publish to the Army in my next Sermon. The Sum of it was this.

Don

Don *Pedro* being asked, what was the Intent of their coming, stoutly answered the Lords, What, but to subdue your Nation, and root it out?

Good, said the Lords: and what meant you then to do with the Catholiques? He answered, We meant to send them (good Men) directly unto Heaven, as all you that are Heretiques to Hell. Yea, but said the Lords, what meant you to do with your Whips of Cord and Wyer? (whereof they had great Store in their Ships) What? said he, we meant to whip you Heretiques to death, that have assisted my Master's Rebels, and done such Dishonours to our Catholique King and People? Yea, but what would you have done, said they, with their young Children? They, said he, which were above seven Years old, should have gone the Way their Fathers went; the rest should have lived, branded in the Forehead with the Letter *L.* for *Lutheran*, to perpetual Bondage.

This, I take God to Witnesse, I received of those great Lords upon Examination taken by the Council, and by Commandement delivered it to the Armie.

The Queen, the next Morning, rode through all the Squadrons of her Armie, as armed *Pallas*, attended by noble Footmen, *Leicester*, *Effex*, and *Norris* then Lord Marshal, and divers other great Lords. Where she made an excellent Oration to her Armie, which the next Day after her Departure, I was commanded to redeliver to all the Armie together, to keep a publique Fast. Her Words were these.

“MY loving People, we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our Safety,
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“ to take heed how we commit ourself to armed
“ Multitudes for fear of Treachery: but I assure
“ you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faith-
“ ful and loving People. Let Tyrants fear; I
“ have alwayes so behaved myself, that under
“ God I have placed my chiefeft Strength and
“ Safeguard in the loyal Hearts and Good-will
“ of my Subjects. And therefore I am come a-
“ mongst you as you see, at this time, not for
“ my Recreation and Disport, but being resolved
“ in the midst and heat of the Battaile to live,
“ or die amongst you all, to lay down for my
“ God, and for my Kingdom, and for my Peo-
“ ple, my Honour and my Blood, even in the
“ Dust. I know I have the Bodie but of a weak
“ and feeble woman, but I have the Heart and
“ Stomach of a King, and of a King of *Eng-*
“ *land* too; and think foul Scorn, that *Parma*, or
“ *Spain*, or any Prince of *Europe*, should dare to
“ invade the Borders of my Realm; to which, ra-
“ ther than any Dishonour shall grow by me, I
“ myself will take up Arms, I myself will be your
“ General, Judge, and Rewarder of everie one
“ of your Virtues in the Field. I know alreadie
“ for your Forwardnesse, you have deserved Re-
“ wards and Crownes; and we do assure you in
“ the Word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid
“ you. In the mean time my Lieutenant Ge-
“ neral shall be in my Stead, than whom never
“ Prince commanded a more noble or worthie
“ Subject; not doubting but by your Obedience
“ to my General, by your Concord in the Camp,
“ and your Valour in the Field, we shall shortly
“ have a famous Victorie over those Enemies of
“ my God, of my Kingdomes, and of my Peo-
“ ple.”

This

This I thought would delight your Grace, and no man hath it but myself, and such as I have given it to ; and therefore I made bold to send it unto you, if you have it not already.

L E T T E R XVIII.

Lord Bacon to James I.

It may please your most excellent Majestie,

I Do many times with Gladnesse, and for a Remedy of my other Labours, revolve in my Mind the great Happinesse which God (of his singular Goodnesse) hath accumulated upon your Majestie every way ; and how compleat the same would be, if the State of your Meanes were once rectified and well ordered ; your People militarie and obedient, fit for War, used to Peace ; your Church illightened with good Preachers, as an Heaven of Stars ; your Judges learned, and learning from you, just, and just by your Example ; your Nobility in a right Distance between Crown and People, no Oppressors of the People, no Overshadowers of the Crown ; your Council full of Tributes, of Care, Faith, and Freedom ; your Gentlemen and Justices of Peace, willing to apply your royal Mandates to the Nature of their severall Counties, but ready to obey ; your Servants in awe of your Wisdome, in hope of your Goodnesse ; the Fields growing every Day by the Improvement and Recovery of Grounds, from the Desart to the Garden ; the City grown from Wood to Brick ; your Sea-walls, or *Pomerium* of your Island surveyed, and in edifying ; your Merchants imbracing the whole Compass

of the World, East, West, North and South ; the Times giving you Peace, and yet offering you Opportunities of Action abroad ; and, lastly, your excellent royal Issue entayling these Blessings and Favours of God, to descend to all Posterity. It resteth therefore, that God having done so great Things for your Majestie, and you for others ; you would do so much for yourself as to go through (according to your good Beginnings) with the rectifying and settling of your Estate and Means, which onely is wanting. *Hoc rebus defuit unum.* I therefore, whom onely Love and Duty to your Majestie, and your royal Line, hath made a *Financier*, do intend to present unto your Majestie a perfect Book of your Estate, like a Perspective-glasse, to draw your Estate near to your Sight ; beseeching your Majestie to conceive, that if I have not attained to do that, that I would do in this which is not proper for me, nor in my Element, I shall make your Majestie amends in some other thing in which I am better bred.

God ever preserve, &c.

L E T T E R XIX.

Dr. Williams, Dean of Westminster, to the Duke of Buckingham.

My most noble Lord,

IT hath pleased God to call for the Bishop of London. I am so conscious of mine own Weaknesse and Undeservings, that, as I never was, so now I dare not be a Suiter for so great a Charge. But if his Majestie, by your Honour's Mediation, shall

shall resolve to call me to perform him the best Service I can in that Place, I humbly beseech your Honour to admit me a Suiter in these three Circumstances.

First, That whereas my Lord of *London* hath survived our *Lady-day*, and received all the Profits that should maintain a Bishop until *Michael-masse*, I may by his Majestie's Favour retain all my own Means until the next Day after *Michgel-mas-day*. This is a Petition which I shall be necessitated to make unto his Majestie (if his Majestie by your Favour should advance me to this Place) and injureth no Man else in the World.

Secondly, That whereas the Commissioners challenge from the Bishop's Revenues a matter of 200 *l. per ann.* (this Bishoprick being already very meanly endowed, in regard of the continual Charge and Exhaustments of the Place) it would please his Majestie to leave in my Hands (by way of *Commendam*) one Benefice of mine, which falls into his Majestie's Dispose upon my Remove, until it be determined by the said Commissioners, whether any Part of the Bishop's Means be due unto the Fabrique. My humble Suit is for *Walgrave*, a Benefice with Cure in *Northamptonshire*, where I have laid out all my Estate in temporal Lands.

Lastly, That if it be found, that the Bishop is to joyn with the Residentiaries of *Paul's* in the Repair of the Church, his Majestie would qualifie me by a *Commendam* to hold one of my own Prebends, when it shall fall to be a Residentiarie also; that if I be charged with the Burthen of Residentiarie, I might enjoy the Profits of a Residentiarie.

These three Requests do (I confesse) adde unto me, but do not prejudice any one else whatsoever. I submit them and myself to your Honour's Wisdom, &c.

The Names of such Ecclesiastical Promotions as I now retain, and will fall to be disposed of by the King, if I should be removed.

1. Deanery of *Westminster*.
2. Rectorie of *Dinam*.
3. Rectorie of *Walgrave*.
4. Rectorie of *Grafton*.
5. Prebendary of *Peterborough*.
6. Chaunter of *Lincoln*.
7. Prebendary of *Asgarbie*.
8. Prebendary of *Nonnington*.
9. Residentiary's Place of *Lincoln*.

L E T T E R XX.

Dr. Field, Bishop of Landaff, to the SAME.

My gracious good Lord,

IN the great Library of Men, that I have studied these many Yeares, your Grace is the best Book, and most Classick Authour that I have read; in whom I find so much Goodnesse, Sweetnesse and Noblenesse of Nature; such an heroick Spirit, for boundlesse Bounty, as I never did in any. I could instance in many, some of whom you have made Deanes, some Bishops, some Lords and Privy Councillours. None that ever looked toward your Grace did ever go empty away; I need go no farther then myself (a Gum of the Earth) whom some eight Years ago you raised.

raised out of the Dust, for raising but a Thought so high as to serve your Highnesse. Since that, I have not played the Truant, but more diligently studied you then ever before. And yet (Dunce that I am) I stand at a Stay, and am a *Nonproficient*; the Book being the same that ever it was, as may appear by the great Proficiencie of others. This wonderfully poseth me, and sure there is some Guile, some Wile in some of my Fellow-students, who hide my Book from me, or some Part of it. All the Fault is not in mine own Blockishnesse, that I thrive no better. I once feared this before, that some did me ill Offices. Your Grace was pleased to protest no Man had, and to assure me no Man could. My Heart tells me, it hath been alwaies upright, and is still most faithful unto you. I have examined my Actions, my Words, and my very Thoughts, and found all of them ever since most sound unto your Grace. Give me leave after so long Patience (for which Vertue you were once pleased to commend me to my old Master King *James*, and I have not yet lost it) now that for these twelve Months almost, I have been not onely upon the Stage, but upon the Rack of Expectations, even distracted between Hope and Fear, to comfort myself with Recordation of your Loving-kindnesses of old, when on that great Feast Day of your being inaugurated our Chancellour, my Look was your Booke, wherein you read Sadnesse, to which I was bold to answer, I trusted your Grace would give me no Cause. You replied with (losse of Blood rather) that was your noble Expression. But God forbid so precious an Effusion. I would emptie all my Veins rather than you should bleed one drop; when as one Blast of

your Breath is able to bring me to the Haven where I would be. My Lord, I am grown an old Man, and am like old Houshold-stuffe, apt to be broke upon often removing. I desire it therefore but once for all, be it *Eli*, or *Bath* and *Wells*, and I will spend the remainder of my Days in writing an History of your good Deeds to me and others, whereby I may vindicate you from the Envie and Obloquy of this present wicked Age wherein we live, and whilst I live in praying for your Grace,

Whose I am totallie and finallie,

THEOPHILUS LANDAVEN.

LETTER XXI.

Sir Walter Raleigh to James I.

IT is one Part of the Office of a just and worthy Prince, to hear the Complaints of his Vassals; especially such as are in great Misery. I know not, amongst many other Presumptions gathered against me, how your Majesty hath been persuaded, that I was one of them who were greatly discontented, and therefore the more likely to prove disloyal. But the great God so relieve me in both Worlds as I was the contrary: and I took as great Comfort to behold your Majesty, and always learning some Good, and bettering my Knowledge by hearing your Majesty's Discourse. I do most humbly beseech your Sovereign Majesty not to believe any of those in my Particular, who under pretence of Offences to Kings, do easily work their particular Revenge.

I trust no Man under the Colour of making Examples, should perswade your Majesty to leave the Word *Merciful* out of your Style; for it will be no less Profit to your Majesty, and become your Greatness than the word *Invincible*. It is true, that the Laws of *England* are no less jealous of the Kings than *Cæsar* was of *Pompey's* Wife: for notwithstanding she was cleared for having Company with *Claudius*, yet for being suspected, he condemned her. For myself, I protest before almighty God, and I speak it to my Master and Sovereign, that I never invented Treason against him; and yet I know I shall fall *in manibus eorum, a quibus non possum evadere*, unless by your Majesty's gracious Compassion I be sustained. Our Law therefore, most merciful Prince, knowing her own Cruelty, and knowing that she is wont to compound Treason out of Presumptions and Circumstances, doth give this charitable Advice to the King her Supreme, *Non solum sapiens esse sed & misericors, &c. Cum tutius sit reddere rationem misericordiae quam judicii*. I do therefore on the Knees of my Heart beseech your Majesty, from your own sweet and comfortable Disposition, to remember that I have served your Majesty twenty Years, for which your Majesty hath yet given me no Reward; and it is fitter I should be indebted unto my sovereign Lord, than the King to his poor Vassal. Save me therefore, most merciful Prince, that I may owe your Majesty my Life itself, than which there cannot be a greater Debt. Limit me at least, my sovereign Lord, that I may pay it for your Service when your Majesty shall please. If the Law destroy me, your Majesty shall put me out of your Power, and I shall have none to fear but the King of Kings.

WALTER RALEIGH.

tained, of calling your royal Father, God's Vicegerent; which ill Men have turned both to the Dishonour of God, and the Impeachment of his Majesty's Goodness. They adjoin Vicegerency to the Idea of being all-powerful, and not to that of being all-good. His Majesty's Wisdom, it is to be hoped, will save him from the Snare that may lie under gross Adulations; but your Youth, and the Thirst of Praise, which I have observed in you, may possibly mislead you to hearken to these Charmers, who would conduct your noble Nature into Tyranny. Be careful, O my Prince! Hear them not, fly from their Deceits; you are in the Succession to a Throne, from whence no Evil can be imputed to you, but all Good must be conveyed from you. Your Father is called the Vicegerent of Heaven; while he is good, he is the Vicegerent of Heaven. Shall Man have Authority from the Fountain of Good to do Evil? No, my Prince; let mean and degenerate Spirits, which want Benevolence, suppose your Power impaired by a Disability of doing Injuries. If want of Power to do ill, be an Incapacity in a Prince, with Reverence be it spoken, it is an Incapacity he has in common with the Deity. Let me not doubt but all Pleas, which do not carry in them the mutual Happiness of Prince and People, will appear as absurd to your great Understanding, as disagreeable to your noble Nature. Exert yourself, O generous Prince, against such Sycophants, in the glorious Cause of Liberty; and assume such an Ambition worthy of you, to secure your Fellow-creatures from Slavery; from a Condition as much below that of Brutes, as to act without Reason is less miserable than to act against it. Preserve to your future Subjects the
divine

have changed Enemies into Friends, Malice into Compassion, and the Minds of the greatest Number then present into the Commiseration of mine Estate. It is not the Nature of foul Treason to beget such fair Passions; neither could it agree with the Duty and Love of faithful Subjects (especially of your Nation) to bewail his Overthrow that had conspired against their most natural and liberal Lord. I therefore trust that you will not be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the Tree with the Fruit, and undergo the Curse of them that enter the Fields of the Fatherless: which, if it please you to know the Truth, is far less in Value than in Fame. But that so worthy a Gentleman as yourself will rather bind us to you (being six Gentlemen not base in Birth and Alliance) which have Interest therein: and myself with my uttermost Thankfulness will remain ready to obey your Commandments.

WALTER RALEIGH.

L E T T E R. XXIII.

Sir Walter Raleigh to Prince Henry, Son of James I.

May it please your Highness,

THE following Lines are addressed to your Highness, from a Man who values his Liberty, and a very small Fortune in a remote Part of this Island, under the present Constitution, above all the Riches and Honours that he could any where enjoy under any other Establishment.

You see, Sir, the Doctrines that are lately come into the World, and how far the Phrase has obtained,

LETTER XXIV.

Lord Bacon to James I. after his Disgrace,

To the KING.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

IN the midst of my Misery, which is rather asswaged by Remembrance than by Hope, my chiefest worldly Comfort is to think, that, since the time I had the first Vote of the Commons House of Parliament for Commissioner of the Union, until the time that I was, by this last Parliament, chosen by both Houses for their Messenger to your Majesty in the Petition of Religion (which two were my first and last Services) I was evermore so happy as to have my poor Services graciously accepted by your Majesty, and likewise not to have had any of them miscarry in my Hands; neither of which Points I can anywise take to myself, but ascribe the former to your Majesty's Goodness, and the latter to your prudent Directions, which I was ever careful to have and keep. For, as I have often said to your Majesty, I was towards you but as a Bucket and Cistern, to draw forth and conserve, whereas yourself was the Fountain. Unto this Comfort of nineteen Years Prosperity, there succeeded a Comfort even in my greatest Adversity, somewhat of the same Nature, which is, that, in those Offences wherewith I was charged, there was not any one that had special Relation to your Majesty, or any your particular Commandments. For as towards Almighty God there are Offences against the first and second Table, and yet all
against

against God; so with the Servants of Kings, there are Offences more immediate against the Sovereign, although all Offences against Law are also against the King. Unto which Comfort there is added this Circumstance, that as my Faults were not against your Majesty, otherwise than as all Faults are; so my Fall was not your Majesty's Act, otherwise than as all acts of Justice are yours. This I write not to insinuate with your Majesty, but as a most humble Appeal to your Majesty's gracious Remembrance, how honest and direct you have ever found me in your Service, whereby I have an assured Belief, that there is, in your Majesty's own princely Thoughts, a great deal of Serenity and Clearness towards me, your Majesty's now prostrate and cast down Servant.

Neither, my most gracious Sovereign, do I, by this Mention of my former Services, lay claim to your princely Graces and Bounty, though the Privilege of Calamity doth bear that Form of Petition. I know well, had they been much more, they had been but my bounden Duty: nay, I must also confess, that they were, from time to time, far above my Merit, over and super-rewarded by your Majesty's Benefits, which you heaped upon me. Your Majesty was and is that Master to me, that raised and advanced me nine times, thrice in Dignity, and six times in Offices. The Places were indeed the painfulest of all your Services; but then they had both Honour and Profits; and the then Profits might have maintained my now Honours, if I had been wise; neither was your Majesty's immediate Liberality wanting towards me in some Gifts, if I may hold them. All this I do most thankfully acknowledge; and do herewith conclude,

clude, that for any thing arising from myself to move your Eye of Pity towards me, there is much more in my present Misery than in my past Services; save that the same, your Majesty's Goodness, that may give Relief to the one, may give Value to the other.

And indeed, if it may please your Majesty, this Theme of my Misery is so plentiful, as it need not be coupled with any thing else. I have been Somebody by your Majesty's singular and undeserved Favour, even the prime Officer of your Kingdom. Your Majesty's Arm hath often been laid over mine in Council, when you presided at the Table; so near was I! I have borne your Majesty's Image in Metal, much more in my Heart. I was never, in nineteen Years Service, chidden by your Majesty; but, contrariwise, often overjoyed when your Majesty would sometimes say, I was a good Husband for you, though none for myself; sometimes, That I had a way to deal in Business *suavibus modis*, which was the way, which was most according to your own Heart;—and other most gracious Speeches of Affection and Trust, which I feed on to this Day. But why should I speak of these things, which are now vanished? But only the better to express my Downfall.

For now it is thus with me: I am a * Year and a half old in Misery; though, I must ever acknowledge, not without some Mixture of your Majesty's Grace and Mercy. For I do not think it possible that any one, whom you once loved, should be totally miserable. Mine own Means, through my own Improvidence, are poor and weak, little better than my Father left me. The
poor

* Therefore this was wrote near the Middle of the Year 1622.

poor Things that I have had from your Majesty are either in Question or at Courtesy. My Dignities remain Marks of your past Favour, but Burdens of my present Fortune. The poor Remnants which I had of my former Fortunes, in Plate or Jewels, I have spread upon poor Men unto whom I owed, scarce leaving myself a convenient Subsistence; so as to conclude, I must pour out my Misery before your Majesty, so far as to say, *Si tu deseris, perimus.*

But as I can offer to your Majesty's Compassion little arising from myself to move you, except it be my extreme Misery, which I have truly opened; so looking up to your Majesty's own self, I should think I committed *Cain's* Fault if I should despair. Your Majesty is a King, whose Heart is as unscrutable for secret Motions of Goodness, as for Depth of Wisdom. You are, Creator-like, factive, not destructive; you are the Prince in whom hath ever been noted an Aversion against any thing that favoured of an hard Heart; as, on the other side, your princely Eye was wont to meet with any Motion that was made on the relieving Part. Therefore, as one that hath had the Happiness to know your Majesty near-hand, I have, most gracious Sovereign, Faith enough for a Miracle, and much more for a Grace, that your Majesty will not suffer your poor Creature to be utterly defaced, nor blot that Name quite out of your Book, upon which your sacred Hand hath been so oft for the giving him new Ornaments and Additions.

Unto this degree of Compassion, I hope God (of whose Mercy towards me, both in my Prosperity and Adversity, I have had great Testimonies and Pledges, though mine own manifold
and

and wretched Unthankfulness might have averted them) will dispose your princely Heart, already prepared to all Piety you shall * do for me. And as all commiserable Persons (especially such as find their Hearts void of all Malice) are apt to think that all Men pity them, so I assure myself that the Lords of your Council, who, out of their Wisdom and Nobleness, cannot but be sensible of human Events, will, in this way which I go, for the Relief of my Estate, further and advance your Majesty's Goodness towards me; for there is, as I conceive, a kind of Fraternity between great Men that are, and those that have been, being but the several Tenses of one Verb. Nay, I do further presume, that both Houses of Parliament will love their Justice the better, if it end not in my Ruin; for I have been often told, by many of my Lords, as it were in the way of excusing the Severity of the Sentence, that they knew they left me in good Hands. And your Majesty knoweth well I have been all my Life long acceptable to those Assemblies; not by Flattery, but by Moderation, and by honest expressing of a Desire to have all things go fairly and well.

But if it may please your Majesty (for Saints I shall give them Reverence, but no Adoration; my Address is to your Majesty, the Fountain of Goodness) your Majesty shall, by the Grace of God, not feel that in Gift, which I shall extremely feel in Help; for my Desires are moderate, and my Courses measured to a Life orderly and reserved, hoping still to do your Majesty Honour in my way; only I most humbly beseech your Majesty to give me leave to conclude with these Words, which Necessity speaketh: Help me,
 dear

* Vouchsafe to express towards me,

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dear Sovereign, Lord and Master, and pity so far, as that I, that have borne a Bag, be not now in my Age, forced, in effect, to bear a Wallet; nor that I, that desire to live to study, may not be driven to study to live. I most humbly crave Pardon of a long Letter, after a long Silence. God of Heaven ever bless, preserve, and prosper your Majesty.

Your Majesty's

poor ancient Servant and Beadsmān.

FR. BACON.

LETTER XXV.

Countess of Nottingham to the Danish Ambassador.

S I R,

I Am very sorry this Occasion should have been offered me by the King your Master, which makes me troublesome to you for the present. It is reported to me by Men of Honour, the great Wrong the King of the *Danes* hath done me, when I was not by to answer for myself: for if I had been present, I would have letten him know how much I scorn to receive that Wrong at his Hands. I need not to urge the Particular of it, for the King himself knows it best. I protest to you, Sir, I did think as honourably of the King your Master, as I did of my own Prince; but now I perswade myself there is as much Baseness in him as can be in any Man. For although he
be

be a Prince by Birth, it seems not to me that there harbours any princely Thought in his Breast; for either in Prince or Subject, it is the basest that can be to wrong any Woman of Honour. I deserve as little that Name he gave me, as either the Mother of himself or of his Children; and if ever I come to know what Man hath informed your Master so wrongfully of me, I should do my best for putting him from doing the like to any other. But if it hath come by the Tongue of any Woman, I dare say she would be glad to have Companions. So leaving to trouble you any further, I rest, your Friend,

M. NOTTINGHAM.

LETTER XXVI.

Mr. Ruthen to the Earl of Northumberland.

My Lord,

IT may be interpreted Discretion sometimes to wink at private Wrongs, especially for such a one as myself, that have a long time wrestled with a hard Fortune, and whose Actions, Words and Behaviour are continually subject to the Censure of a whole State; yet not to be sensible of public and national Disgrace, were Stupidity and Baseness of Mind: for no Place, nor Time, nor State, can excuse a Man from performing that Duty and Obligation wherein Nature hath tied him to his Country and to himself. This I speak in regard of certain infamous Verses lately by your Lordship's means, dispersed abroad to disgrace my Country and myself, and to wrong and stain by me
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the Honour of a worthy and virtuous Gentlewoman, whose unspotted and immaculate Virtue yourself is so much more bound to admire and uphold, in that having dishonorably assaulted it, you could not prevail. But belike, my Lord, you dare do any thing but that which is good and just. Think not to bear down these things either by Greatness or Denial; for the Circumstances that prove them are so evident, and the Veil wherewith you would shadow them, is too transparent. Neither would I have you flatter yourself, as though, like another *Giges*, you could pass in your Courses invisable. If you owe a Spite to any of my Countrymen, it is a poor Revenge to rail upon me in Verse: or if the Repulse of your lewd Desire at the Gentlewoman's Hands, hath inflamed and exasperated your Choler against her, it was never known, that to refuse *Northumberland's* unlawful Lust was a Crime for a Gentlewoman deserving to have her Honour called in question. For her Part, I doubt not but her own unspotted Virtue will easily wipe out any Blot which your Malice would cast upon it; and for me and my Countrymen, know, my good Lord, that such Blows as come in Rhime, are too weak to reach or harm us. I am ashamed in your Lordship's Behalf for these Proceedings, and sorry that the World must now see how long it hath been mistaken in *Northumberland's* Spirit. And yet who will not commend your Wisdom in choosing such a safe Course as to wrong a Woman and a Prisoner? the one of which cannot, and the other, by Nature and Quality of the Place, may not, right his own wrongs. Wherefore (setting aside the most honorable Order of the Garter, and protesting that whatsoever is here said, is no way intended to the Nobility

Nobility and Gentry of *England* in general, which I doubt not but will condemn this your dishonourable Dealing, and for which both myself, and I dare truly say all my Countrymen shall be even as ready to sacrifice our Bloods as for our own Mother *Scotland*). I do not only in regard of our own Persons affirm, that whatsoever in those infamous Verses is contained, is utterly false and untrue, and that yourself hath dealt most dishonourably, unworthily, and basely; but this I will ever maintain. If these Words sound harshly in your Lordship's Ear, blame yourself, since yourself, forgetting yourself, have taught others how to dishonour you: and remember, that tho' Nobility make a Difference of Persons, yet Injury acknowledgeth none.

PATRICK RUTHEN.

LETTER XXVII.

Sir Thomas Roe to Secretary Calvert.

Right Honourable,

ABOUT tenne Dayes before the Date of this, I dispatched a Gentleman, my Kinsman, expresse to his Majesty, with Letters from the Grand Signor Sultan *Osman*; and gave large Advice to your Honour, and to the Lords, as well of the publique Occurrences, as of myne owne Success in other Business: wherein you shall find, whensoever they arrive, that I had settled all things giuen me in Commission, both from his Majestie and the Company, and obteyned newe and large Priuiledges; recovered, by warrant Money extorted, though yet vnpaid; procured

cured such Commands and Letters for *Tunes* and *Algier*, sent expressly by the Emperour, that I might haue boasted of a prosperous Industry, as you will see by Copies already sent you. And therein your Honor will finde, that I prophesied of these things that are now come vpon vs, foreseeing that which I could not prevent.

On *Wednesday* last, the 7th present, the Sultan, according to his obstinat Purpose, sending over his Pauillions, the Soldiours rose, both Janizaries and Spahees, and first staid the Tents, and then brake into the Courts of the Seraglio with infinite Tumult; demanding of the Emperour not to proceed, and to deliuer the great Vizier *Delaur Bassa*, and the Hoia the Tutor, the *Castariaga*, the chiefe Eunuch-keeper of the Women, the *Testerdar*, the Treasurer, and some others, as priuy and consenting to this Voiage, which would (as they pretended) destroy the Empire. The King promised, but delayed, and attempted to conuey them, and some Treasure, to *Asia* Side; but they preuented him, and kept Guard all that Day, only sacking the House of the Hoia. The King, in the meane tyme, made some Showe of defending his Pallace. The next Morning, the Fury encreasing, they demanded those Officers, or else they would carue their owne Justice; so that he for the present was forced to hyde himself; and then taking Oath among themselves, not to rife the King's House, they entered in, and by Menaces found the Vizier and *Castariaga* hidden, whom they presently cutt in pieces; and so seeking the Emperour, not able to finde him, nor force any to tell where he had conueyed himself, they cryed out, they must haue a King; and then demanded for Sultan *Mustafa*, Uncle to *Osman*,
by

by him deposed, being a soft-spirited Man, and to speake modestly, of no great Witt; who being found in a Vault (where the King had putt him since the Beginning of the Rebellion) halfe-starued, they tooke up, and sett him on the Throne, and proclaymed him Emperour, taking him out of that Seraglio, and carryeing him to another. *Osman* amazed with these Newes, first practized the Woemen, whither he was conueyed, to murther him, and here beganne in the Night a newe Upore. The Soldiours rescued him, and tooke him to their owne Colledge halfe dead. Thus a Man despised, naked, taken from a Pitt, at first only begging a little Water, was in a Moment made one of the greatest Monarchs in the World. The Deposed, not yet in Desperation, the same Night dealt with the Aga of the Janizaries, and one *Huzein Bassa*, Vizier in the Warrs of Poland, to assist him, promising the Soldiours great Beneuolence. They counsell him, in this Extremity, to goe out to the mutined Troops to offer his Larges, and to see if he could move them to any Compassion; which he did, with them, and fewe others accompanied. When he came so vnlooked for, they laid hold on him, as he was pleading his own Cause. The Aga of the Janizaries, and *Huzein Bassa*, butt seeming to perswade for him, were instantly cut in pieces. Then the poore *Osman* tooke a Clothe, and couered his Face, expecting Death; but they set him vpon a Horse, and sent him instantly to the seauen Towers vnder good Guard, and euer since have bene employed in the Sack of those Houses, with whose Masters they had any Quarrel as yll Ministers, and haue toucht nothing else. At this Instant I am aduised, that the newe
great

great Vizier *Daout Bassa*, by the Command of the newe Emperour, hath strangled *Osman*, sent to Prison butt fower Howers agoe: the first Emperour that ever they laid violent Hands on; a fatall Signe, I think, of their Declynation.

I cannot discourse at this present, hauing but one Hower allowed mee to write by the *Venetian* Baile, and all not yet appeased. But I would not his Majestie should receiue yt from another Hand; therefore you wil be pleased to present, and to accept *res gestas*, in this Hurly-burly. I have Knowledge of all the Ground of this Business, and the Practize of the great Vizier, now slayne, to alter the whole Frame of Gouvernment of this Empire; a braue and wise Plott, if yt hath taken Effect; which had either made him Monarch of the World, or wholly torne and dissolued it. But God hath his Hand and Power in these things above our reach; and I will send your Honor the Story of this, wherein you shall see straunge things proposed, and now confounded. And this is the third Day since these Troubles beganne, and I hope wil be the last, though I suspect a Warre to ensue, of which I will advise your Honor in tyme.

Constantinople,
20th May, 1622.

LETTER XXVIII.

To the SAME.

Right Honorable.

THE former is a Copy of myne, sent you the last Weeke, written in haste, and while

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we were vnquiett, and not free from Feare ; for the Substance, it is all true, only some Difference in the manner of no Moment, which I must then take as I could gett yt from Report. But I will in few Dayes trouble you with the whole and large Discourse, which I think is one of the rarest and strangest Stories, both for the Designe and Confusion thereof, and for the great Alterations following, and Waies opened to greater, than this Age, or many former haue produced. In the meane while, to giue your Honor a Longing to know more, I will for this time touch the Proiect, and some fewe Obseruations vpon it, and then conclude with myne own Business. First, your Honor must knowe, that this last Emperour, Osman, was a Youth of a great and haughty Spirit, very couragious, and a mortall hater of the Christians ; enuious of the Glory of his Aunces-tors, hauing designed great Things ; and ambitious to aduance his Name higher than any of theirs. His first Enterprise was that of *Poland*, which hee vndertook of his owne Head, against the liking both of Viziers and Soldiours, who in a Monarchy, grown to Riches and Hight, declyned from her antient Disciptyne by Ease and Wealth, and perhaps, *longa dominatione inertes*, are euer corrupt and lazy. This Action he thought so easy, as that he had disposed of the Distribution of his Conquest, and diuided the live Lyon's Skynne. Being met vpon the Borders with a poore Army, in comparison, he was first (as I enformed you) worsted at *Chotyri*, so that he was fayne to leaue yt vntaken. Then, when he would haue forced the Trenches of the Chancellor, to haue advanced into a playn Country, he could neuer procure his Janizaries to fight ; though engaging his Per-son,

son, once or twice, beyond the Regarde of his Quality; and in Conclusion was compelled to rise shamefully, and to treat vpon easy Conditions; and, to saue his Honor, was very gladd, by my comming, of that Pretence to make a Peace (which yet depends) vntill hee had executed his deepe conceiued Councillis. For this Disgrace, he tooke so rooted an Indignation against the Janizaries, and so iustly, that he often complayned, he was no King that was subject to the Insolencey of his owne Slaues, vpon whom he spent his Treasures; and yet they would neither fight in Warre, nor be content in Peace, without exacting Bounties. *Delauir* Bassa Vizier, a Man of great Witt and Courage, and called from the Eastern Parts to this Action, who came in a braue and souldiourly Equipage aboue all his Captaines, was sodainly made great Vizier, the former beeing in the same Disgrace common with the Soldiours, though not in the Fault. This Man was neuer bredd here, but had liued in Action for many Yeares, and so had no Faction nor Dependence in Court, but stood vpon himselfe; and beeing now, vnlooked for, advanced to this high Dignity, he wrought vpon the King's Discontent, and nourished yt; and in Conclusion told him, It was true, he was no Emperour, nor could bee, while the Janizaries had the Power which they had lately vsurped. That they were corrupted from their antient Institution, and were lazy Cowards, vnworthy of Bread. But if he would follow his Advice, he could prouide him a newe Soldioury about *Damascus*, and from the Coords, of Men, euer bredd in the frontire Warre, and of great Courage; and that of them he should erect a newe Militia, that should wholly

depend of him only, enterteyning forty thousand in Pay, which should allway be his Guard. That euery Beglerbegh, in his Gouverment, should trayne some of the Inhabitants, who, in all Occasions of making a great Army, should be in readynes; and hereby he should spare infinite Treasure, and secure his Estate, eaten and in danger by these Drones; and be able, with Men of new Spirits, to doe greater Matters then any of his Auncestors. The King, pleased with this Councell, gaue all to the Vizier's Direction, who was a true Soldiour, and a very wise Man, able, by his Credit in *Asia*, to performe this and more; for he was exceedingly beloued in those Parts, very rich, and had kept *Damascus* for himselfe in the last Rebellion. Upon this Conclusion betweene them, he sent his Letters to his Friends, and provided ten thousand thereabouts, and ten thousand from the Coords, all upon pretence of invading *Persia*; and had caused the Emir de Saida to raise twenty thousand, which was called a Reuolt, but was indeed in ayd of the King's Purposes, who pretended to goe priuately to *Mecha*; but his End was to meete those Soldiours, and to stay a Yeare at *Damascus*, vntill he had regulated his new Army, and then to retorne to *Constantinople*, and root out and dissolue all the Chambers of the Janizaries, and cast the Spahees and Timariotts, and to exauctorate all their Captaynes, who eat vp his Country. And hauing thus settled all things here, he then resolved, with his new Soldiours, to attempt the Recouery of his Honor in *Christendome*; in the meane tyme to hold all good Friendshipp and Correspondence there in all Parts. Certainly this was a braue and well-grounded Designe, and of great Consequence for
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the renewing of this decayed Empire; if God had not destroyed it; for it is very true, the *Turkish* Emperour is now but the Janizaries Treasurer. If this Proiect had taken place, God knowes what Euent it might have produced by a Civill Warre; for doubtlesse the Soldioury here would haue sett upp a new King, and maynteyned him as they could, and this European Part had bene torne away by the Division; besides *Dclaur* Bassa, hauing the King in his Possession, and the Treasure and his own Authority so greate, and his Inclynation *velle imperare*, once discouered, it may well be thought that he would haue shared some Part of this greate Estate. If, on the other side, the King had preuailed, and the Vizier proued faithfull, I am perswaded they would haue made such a Reformation, and erected such a newe Order for the Warre and Treasure, that he would haue troubled all *Christendome*; but, *ubi disquisitor sæculi huius? Nonne infatuauit Deus sapientiam mundi huius? Perdam sapientiam sapientum, et vanam reddam intelligentiam intelligentium.* I know not whether I ought to wish, that these Councells had succeeded or not: now I am sure we are here governed by a poore and seely Man; or rather, here is no Gouvernement, where Slaues, that in fewe Howres could chaunge the greatest Monarch, are become so insolent, that yett there is no open Diuan or Councell, vntill they haue receiued a Donatiue for Guerdon of their Iniquity. Your Honor will giue mee leaue to make short Obseruations. First, that the Treasury, by the three Chaunges in fower Years (for euery Janizary in the Empire, whether absent or present, hath twenty-five Checquins Gold, besides the Spahees and other Orders) and by the late Warr, is very

much exhausted, and these Fellowes all living that haue had the Milke, and now inured to prosperous Mutinies, they haue taken such Head as cannot be suffered, nor safely taken off; and I doe not think that all is quiett, though it appears so; but that we shall haue new Troubles from those prepared in *Asia*, who will attempt a Revenge for the Death of a King that was their Martyr: *Et hinc ruinae*. Secondly, in the Degrees of the Vpore itselfe; that the Soldiours had no Intention at first, either to depose or hurt their Emperour, butt only to stay him, and to cutt off the Counsellors of his Journey, whom the next Day, dead and buried, they bitterly lamented, knowing they had rashly sett vp one whom they must change for Disability. Thirdly, at the Order; that these Mutiners, hauing no Head or Direction, kept that Reglement, that they tooke Oath in their Fury in the King's Yard, not to spoile nor sack the Imperiall Throne, as their owne Dishonour, and neither committed nor suffered any Intolency nor Violence in the Citty; and, which is strange, I thinke there hath not bene done, in the three Dayes and three Nights, one thousand Checquins Damage to the Neutralls, nor to any butt to those obnoxious for some former Quarrell: and six of them meeting with 100*l.* of myne in the Streets, in the Hands of a poore Man, they first tooke it away; but he pleading it was myne, they returned yt; so that I may wonder at such orderly Disorder. This Plott was discouered to the Soldiours, by Words of Disdaine lett fall from the King, by remouing all his Treasure, pulling down the Riches of his House, melting Furniture and Saddles, and whatsoever could be converted into Bullion. Thus
your

your Honor hath a Modell of Troubles and my Contemplations, which Tyme may enlarge. For our owne Busines: they will now doe any thing I shall propound for *Poland*, hauing sent Offers thither, and will send into *England*; but whether it were well done now to assist to any Peace, I know not; yet will follow my Instructions. Within fower Dayes after this, I procured to be renewed all my Commands and Letters for *Tunes* and *Algier*, in this Emperour's Name, and haue dispeeded them away, according to my Advises sent your Honor by my Cosen, *Robert Roe*; so that I think I shall rather fortify than weaken that Designe. The Letter written to his Majestie by the last Emperour shal be confirmed, and wee are iust in *pristino statu*. I beseech your Honor, read Part of this my Letter to his Majestie, and meditate for me, that yt may absolve mee, vntill I can put it in better Forme, being scarce allowed Tyme to transcribe this, that you may read yt. *Et ab his incendiarijs, libera nos Domine.*

Constantinople,
16 May, 1622.

Your Honor's affectionate Seruant.

L E T T E R XXIX.

Relation of the Death of Sultan OSMAN.

THE Grand Signior, Sultan *Osman*, discontented euer since his Disgrace in *Poland*, as soone as he came to *Constantinople*, pretended a Journey vpon the Emir de Saida, who was reported to be in Rebellion, hauing taken Armes to other Ends: but beeing diuerted from this Purpose by the great Instance of the Viziers, and that it would not so well serue his secrett Designes, because he must then keep an Army on foote, he gave out that

he would visit *Mecha*, the Tomb of his false Prophet. To make this Voiage the more secure in Appearance, he seemed content to accept of any Treaty with the *Polacks*, even to Conditions both of Disadvantage and Dishonor. For his Estates in *Hungary*, he re-enforced the Frontire with diuers Troopes; and though he were much troubled at the League betweene the Emperour of *Germany* and *Bethlem Gabor*, yett he dissembled it soe as that he would not displease the *Transylvanian*, but rather offered newe Succors, and Forbearance of his Tribute. From the Incurfions of the *Cossacks*, he hoped to assure himselfe by the Treaty of the *Poles*; and in occasion of Breach, he had the *Tartars* ready to requite them, it being both their Trades to live vpon Spoile and Robbery; and for more Security, he appointed twenty Gallies to keep the *Black Sea*. The common People, and Viziers, that loued Rest, and knew not the Designe, were much troubled and discontent at this Journey, who made many Remonstrances to him of the Inconuenience and Danger to leaue the Seat of his Empire to the Trust of a Deputy, in a Tyme when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the *German* Emperour, and therefore not to be trusted, and the *Polacks* newly conciled to him, and therefore to be mistrusted. Diuers other Reasons were made to him, many Petitions delivered from the Churchmen, Lawyers, and from all Estates; but melancholy Reuenge had wholly possessed him, so that by no means he could be perswaded to desist. The Soldioury passed so farre, as to threaten publickely, and to protest they would not follow, but rather sett upp another King in his Absence, that should stay among them. This also wrought no
other

other Effect, butt Encrease of Despight against them. In Conclusion, carried by his owne Fate to Destruction, the 7th of *May* (hauing first commanded away all his Gallies to the *Leuant*, and thereby disposed away many of his Soldiours) he beganne to passe ouer his Tents and Pauilions to *Asia* Side, with great Quantities of Treasure. The Janizaries and Spahees (who had also secrett Intelligence vpon the King, his owne Words and Actions betrayeing some further Designe than a Pilgrimage; for he made Preparations to carry away all his Jewells and Treasure, euen defacing his Pallace, and taking from Churches, and his Wardrobes, whatsoever could be conuerted to Bullion) suddenly mett at the Hyppodrome in the City, vpon a Word giuen, and from thence ranne to the Seraglio in Tumult, butt without Armes; and there, according to their barbarous Mutinyes, cryed out for the King (hauing first taken order to stopp the Passage of any thing vpon the Water) who appearing to them, asked, What this Insolency meant? and what they pretended? They then, by the Mouth of a Multitude (for they had no Head but that of the Monster) demanded first, That he should not proceed in his Purpose to goe to *Mecha*, nor into *Asia*; but that he must abide in the Citty. Secondly, They would haue deliuered to their Fury the great Vizer *Delavir* Bassa, the Hoia or, the King, the Castariaga Gouvernour of the Woemen, the Tefterdar or Treasurer, the Caddee-leskar or chiefe Justice, and some others, as Enemyes to the State, and consenting to this Voiage, which, they pretended, would be the Ruine of the Empire. The first, after a little Dispute, the King granted vnto them, promising to giue quer his Journey;

but they, not content, exacted it in Writing. To the second he replied, That it was a Dishonor to him to haue his Seruants so vsed without Order of Justice; but perswaded them to haue Patience to stay untill *Satterday*, the next Diuan or publique Councill, where they should all appeare; and, if they were found culpable, they should receiue Punishment: not meaning to performe any of this, but to gett time, and allay the present Fury. These Fellowes, not content with this moderat Answer, vndertooke to knowe that they were guilty, and therefore that there needed no other Wittnes, Tryall, nor Judge, but themselves; and with extreame Clamor called to haue them deliuered: but the King, refusing to giue them any other Satisfaction, and they, vnprepared for Force, retorned into the Citty, which was now all in feare, euery House and Shopp shut upp, expecting a generall Sack. But they followed the Way, of their owne Hatred, and first went to the House of the Hoia, which they brake and pillaged; but not finding him, they proceeded to the great Vizier's, who made some Defence, and, they beeing unarmed, beat them off, and so they separated, beeing nowe Euening; but kept a Guard in some Parts of the Towne. This Night the King made an Attempt to send ouer to *Asia* Side, but was preuented, and to fortify and defend his Seraglio, which is walled strongly about, and hath alway in it, of household Seruants, about three thousand: but, it seems, no Man would arme in his Cause; for the next Morning these Mutiners assembled againe, and taking their Armes, went first to the Musti or Arch-priest among them, and forced him and diuers others to accompany them to the Court, where they anew demanded.

demanded these Men, butt with more Instance and Fury. In the mean tyme, the Hoia, Cad-dee-leskar, and Tefterdar fledd, and were yet neuer heard of. The Vizier retired to the King, and perswaded him earnestly to goe ouer in Person in his owne Boats (which from his Garden he might easily doe) to *Asia*, and there to take Horse, and he would secure him from all Perill; but the King would not moue, bidding him stay confident and assured, that he would punish these Rebels. The wise old Man, seeing this Constancy or Obstinacy, desired leaue to shifte for himselfe, which he either tooke or obteyned, and so gott away to the Hermitage of a Sainct renowned amongst them, who (like himselfe) betrayed him to a Captayne of the Janizaries, yet did him the Fauour as not to deliuer him to the Multitude, but carried him back into the King's House. All this tyme it was disputed in the Seraglio about the Delivery of these Officers, the Emperour refusing, the Rebels clamouring and threatening; insomuch as he beganne to feare they would break in, and, in their Rage, do worse then was yett pretended. Whereupon, whether by the King's Order, or by his owne Consent, willing to be the Peace-offering, the Vizier went out to them, and with good Assuredness demanded, What they sought of him, and wherein he had offended? But they answered him with their Swords, and sodainly cutt him in pieces. The Emperour, seeing their Fury so outrageous, had now more Cause to doubt, and retired himselfe, then too late, when he had lost his braue Counsellor, would haue fled into *Asia*, and could not, but conueyed himselfe into a priuat Place, prepared by his *Bustengi* Bassa, or chiefe Gardiner. The
 Rebels.

Rebels continue without in their Maddness, asking for the King, and for more Sacrifices: but the Seruants protesting they knew not where he was, they said, They must haue a King, and, if he would not appeare, they would make another. And hauing a while attended, they resolu'd to enter the Pallace (but first tooke a general Oath, not to sack the Imperiall Throne, which they called their House and their Honor) and there seeking for the King, not able to find him, they extorted by Confession, the Castariaga, and slewe him; and then they demanded for Mustafa, Vncle to *Osman*, by him formerly depos'd, a Man esteemed rather holy (that is frantique) than wise, and indeed fitter for a Cell then a Scepter. The King, the first Day of this Tumult, had putt *Mustafa* into a Vault with two Negro Women, without Bread or Drink; in which Estate these new Electors found him almost naked, and halfe pyned. At first sight, he thought they had bene the Messengers of his Death; butt that Feare pass'd ouer, he begged of them a Cupp of Water, whom they tooke, and instantly proclaym'd their Emperour, which he was as loath to accept, *uti pudebat aucti nominis*. How vnstable are the Estates of the greatest Princes! *Quem dies videt veniens iacentem, hunc dies videt fugiens regnantem*. He that was now in the Jawes of Death, naked, starued, and dyeing for Thirst, is become the Emperour, and may drink Gold, or the Bloud of Men. They, as yet not knowing what was become of *Osman*, and loath to trust *Mustafa* in the Pallace, carried him in Tryumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him, departing to the Sack of the Vizier's House, and so in the Euening to their Rendeuous, where they kept both
 good

good Guard and good Order in the Citty, from Fires and other Infolencies. Sultan *Osman*, amazed with this Newes, so soone as they had left the Court, came out, and called to Counsell in the Night *Huzein Bassa*, late Vizier in the *Polish* Warr, and the Aga of the Janizaries, both faithfull to him, and demanded their Aduise; first hauing sent to the Seraglio, to practize the Women there to strangle *Mustafa*. Butt some taking his Part, a newe Vpore arose in the House betweene that Sexe; and the Soldiours that kept Watch, taking the Alarum, entered in and rescued him, and from thence remoued him to the Chambers of the Janizaries, where they guarded him for that Night in an ill Lodging. All this tyme *Osman* consults what Course to take. These two his Friends, and some others, tell him, that the Case was desperat, and would not be cured but by a desperat Remedy; and therefore they agreed, that the Aga should goe and perswade with the Musti, and that the King in the Morning should sodainly present himselfe to the Soldiours at their owne Dore, and make Experience what his Presence, his Submission, and his Beneuolence promised, could worke, to moue them to Loyalty or Compassion; which Counsell, early in the Morning, they putt in practize. The King, accompanied with the Musti (who neuer consented to his deposing, though he fauored the Soldiours against the Vizier) with *Huzein Bassa*, and about twelue Horsemen, went directly to the Janizaries Colledge, where *Mustafa* was kept; and there in Tears made them an Oration, offering great Recompence, repenting of his Errors; and finally, inuoked them, by the Meritts of his Father, and all his Auncestors, to haue some Pitty upon their true Master. The Multitude,

tam.

tam prona in misericordiam quam immodica sevitia fuerat, now know not what to doe ; a silent Murmur ranne amongst them, and they were halfe conuerted : but the Aga of the Janizaries, thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead vnseasonably for him, with some harsh Words of Vpbraydure, *ut natura maris omni flatu venti turbida*, anewe moued their Fury ; so that they cryed out, Treason, and fell vpon him and *Huzein Bassa*, and cutt them into peeces, euery Man taking a part of their Flesh to satiat their Revenge. The Musti would speake, but is withdrawne by some for Respect to his Place, and with difficulty is conveyed away. Now the poor *Osman* sees his Friends slayne, and knowes not which way to conuert himselfe ; but bynding vp his Eyes with a Napkin, expects Death as the last of their Fury. But they carry him first before *Mustafa*, and accuse him as the Disturber of the Peace of the Empire, and demand Sentence against him : *more vulgi, suum quisque flagitium alijs obiectantes*. The forsaken Prince pleads for Life, and the newe King knowes not how to condemne, but nodd, and agrees to all that is propounded. At last they consult with themselues, and putt him vpon a Horse (an insolent Spahee changing Turbants with him) and sent him away Prisoner to the seaven Towers vnder good Guard, and then retorne their newe Master, and placed him in the Seraglio, and imperiall Throne, where he hath need of good Broaths and Nourishment to restore his decayed Body. The Soldiours think all is done, and (only sacking the Houses of *Huzein Bassa*, and some others, their conceiued Enemyes) they rctorne in quiett to their seuerall Lodgings, and haue no further Malice. But the newe Vizier, *Daout Bassa*, made by *Mustafa*, knew well, if
Osman

Osman liued, that this Storme might passe ouer, and he would as easily, and by the same Meanes, retorne to his Estate, as he fell from it; *vulgus, ut mos est, cuiusque novi motus cupidum*; therefore he consulted with some fewe interessed in *Mustafa's* Preferment, and thereby obnoxious to *Osman*, to search how many of the roiall Bloud were left aliue, and resolued, if there remayned twoe, to make an end of *Osman*. Twoe of his Brothers were found, the one about twelue, the other about seauen Years of Age; and thereupon the Vizier went himselfe to the Prison, with a pack of Hangmen, and gaue order to strangle the vnfortunat Prince, who now, hauing had no Rest in two Nights, and thinking himselfe secure for a Season, was newly fallen asleepe; but, awaked by the comming of these Messengers, asked What Newes? sayeing he did not like their sodayne Intrusion. They at first stood amazed, and the King made shew to defend himselfe; but a strong Knaue stroke him on the Head with a Battle-axe, and the rest, leaping vpon him, strangled him with much adoe.

Thus, one of the greatest Monarchs in the World is first affronted by mutined Troopes, his owne Slaues almost vnarmed, and fewe in Number, no Man taking vp a Sword to defend him; and they who beganne this Maddnes, not meaning to hurt him, by the encrease of their owne Fury, which hath no Bounds, depose him against their owne Purpose, and at last expose his Life, against their Will, to the Councells of other Men whom they equally hate; and now they mourne for their dead King as freshly, as they raged vnreasonably, knowing they haue stayned their Honor, beeing the first of their Emperours they euer betrayed, and that they haue set up another whom they must
now

change for Disability. *Non unquam tulit documenta
fors maiora, quam fragili loco starent superbi.*

This is the last Act of the Life of Sultan *Osman*, but his Intents and great Designs which drew upon him this fatal Blow, I suppose will not be unworthy the Communication: the Practices, Reasons, Secretts, and Councells of all Actions being the Soul of History, and *res gestæ* but the bare Carcass. And I am perswaded, as many Ages have not produced so strange an Example of the Incertenty of humane Greatnes, so in the Disposition thereof, and in the Waies leading thereunto, there is seen evidently the wonderfull Providence of God, in confounding the Councells of the worldly Wise, who had laid a Foundation of newe Greatnes, whereby he aspired the uniuersall Monarchy; ambitious of the Honor of *Traian*, in whose tyme the decayed Empire was said, *primum movere lacertos, et senectutem imperij quasi redditâ iuventute revirescere*: and, lastly, the World may see upon how weake Foundations this Monarchy was at first builded; how it is now shaken and corrupted; how their Kings are subiect to the Rage of a fewe Slaues; how Anarchy hath prepared yt an easy Prey to any able Hand that would attempt it. From the Inuasion of *Poland* all these Changes tooke their Beginning. Sultan *Osman* aduanced to the Throne in his Youth, full of Heat and Bloud, being of a great and haughty Spiritt, very couragious, strong of Body, a mortall Hater of Christians, enuious of the Glory of his Ancestours, and ambitious to raise his Name aboue any of theirs, had projected in himselfe the Conquest of the Remaynes of the bordering *Europe*. But to so great Designs he had one Vice that resisted all Hope of Prosperity, which was extreme Auarice, and

and hee fell into the later Tymes, and decrepid Age, *ubi vires luxu corrumpébantur, contra veterem disciplinam, et instituta maiorum, apud quos, virtute quam pecuniâ, res militaris melius stetit.* His first Enterprize was that of *Poland*, moued by the Incursions of the *Cossacks*, which yet he undertooke of his owne Head, without the Councell of any of his Viziers; who, in a Monarchy growne to the height by Ease and Wealth, and perhaps *longa dominatione inertes*, are euer corrupt and lazy, and against the likeing of all the Soldiours, who nowe, contrary to their Institution, beeing married, and Fathers of a Family, entered into Trades, receuing nothing, in Warr more than in Peace, *præter pericula et labores*, are not easily drawne from their owne Chymneyes. This Action he thought so easy, as he had disposed of this Conquest, and diuided the liue *Lyon's Skynne*. But beeing mett vpon the Borders with a poore Army in comparison, he was first arrested at *Chotyn*, a little Fortresse, which he was fayne to leaue behind him untaken; and then seeking to Aduance into the playne Cuntry, by forcing the Trenches of the Chancellor of *Poland*, opposed against him, he could neuer procure his Janizaries to fight, though engaging his Person once or twice beyond the Reguard of his Quality, and his owne Troops ready to mutyne against him, or forsake him, he was enforced at last to raise shamefully his Camp, and to accept of any Treaty to save his outward Honor. In this Attempt he lost aboue a hundred thousand Horses for want of Fodder, and eighty-thousand Men for want of Fighting; for they would rather dye running, or pyllaging, or eating, than in the Face of the Enemy. For this Disgrace, he tooke so inward and rooted an Indignation against the

the Janizaries, and so justly, that he often lamented himselfe, and complayned, he was no King that was so subject to the Insolency of his owne Slaues, vpon whom he spent great Treasures; and yet they would neither fight in Warre, nor obey in Peace, without exacting new Bountyes and Priuiledges. *Dekai* Bassa, a Man of a great Wit and Courage, lately called from the Eastern Parts, where he had long gouerned with Honor, to this Action, who came in, though late, yett in a very braue and warrlike Equipage above all other his Capteynes, was sodainly made great Vizier; the former, *Huzein* Bassa, being in the same Disgrace common with the Soldiour, though not in the same Fault. This Man was neuer bredd at Court, but had liued many Years in Action, and so had neither Faction nor Dependence here, butt stood vpon himselfe and his owne Meritt; and beeing now, vnlooked for, advanced to this high Dignity, he wrought vpon the King's Discontent, and nourished it, and in Conclusion told him, That it was true, he was no Emperour, nor could be safely aliue, while the Janizaries had that Power which they lately vsurped: informing him, that they were corrupted from antient Institution, and were lazy Cowards, giuen ouer to Ease and Lust; *et animo per libidines corrupto, nihil honestum inerat.* But if his Majestie would pull vp his Spirits, and follow his Advise, he would prouide him a newe Soldioury, about *Damascus*, and from the Coords, of Men euer bredd in the frontire Hardnes and Warre, of great Courage and Experience; and that of them he should erect a new Militia, that should wholly depend of him, enterteyning only forty thousand in pay, which should allway be his Guard; and that in the Distribution of euery Prouince,

Prouince, he should constitute, that the Beglerbegh in his Gouverment should trayne some of the Inhabitants, who in all Occasions should be in readines; and hereby he should spare infinite Treasures spent vpon these Drones, that eat vpon his Estate, and with Men of newe Spiritts and Hopes he should be enabled to doe greater Matters then any of his Auncestors. But, with all, he desired, the King to communicate this Counsell to no Man, nor to trust his Life vpon another's Secrecy. *Delauir* Bassa neuer reuealing himself to any butt the King, who, extreemely pleased with this Aduise that flattered his owne Humour, consented, and remitted all to the Vizier's Direction, who was a true Souldiour and a very wise Man, able by his Creditt in *Asia* to perform all he had undertaken; for he was exceedingly beloued in those Parts, very rich, and had kept *Damascus*, whereof he was Gouvernour, for himselfe in the last Rebellion. Vpon this Conclusion betweene them, it was first agreed, that the King should pretend to goe in Person against the Emir de Saïda, who was moued to take Armes really, to assist in the Designe. But they vsed it to couler the Departure of the Emperour, which, when it was well weighed, it was found that then the Army of Janizaries must be kept together, which could not agree with their Ends. Hereupon the Journey of *Mecha* was diuulged, that the King might, vnder the Shadow of an holy Pilgrimage, goe out with small Trayne, and disperse those who were suspected to him; and for this Preparation was made, but somewhat too grossly, by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, Furniture of House, Lamps of Churches, and whatsoever else could be more easily conueighed away in.

in Mettle, with all the Jewells and Treasury. This gaue the first Suspicion, which was confirmed by diuers vnaduised Words lett fall by the King, of Disdayne against the Cowardise of the Janizaries, and that he would shortly find himselfe Soldiours that should whipp them; and lastly, dismising all his Household, except some fewe Elect, the Discontented obserued and betrayed him. *Delauir* Bassa kept his owne Secrett, and in the meane tyme prepared by his Friends in *Asia* ten thousand about *Damascus*, tenne thousand from the *Coords*, besides those in readines of the Emir de Saida, and all vpon pretence of defending the Borders of *Persia*, as hauing Intelligence of some Chaunge in those Parts; and gaue order, that all these should meet the Kinge at *Damascus*, where he would presently cutt off his Guard, and slay there vntill he had regulated his new Army and Discipline, and then to retorne tryumphant to *Constantinople*, and vtterly root out the Order of Janizaries, Spahees, and Timariotts, and to exauktorat all their Capteynes and Officers, to settle a new Gouverment, and to chaunge the Name of the Citty. And all these Things succeeding, he then resolued, with his new Soldiours, to attempt the Recouery of his Honor in *Christendome*; in the meane tyme, to hold a dissembled Friendship there in all Parts. Certenly this was a braue and well-grounded Designe, and of great Consequence for the renewing of this decayed Empire, languishing vnder the Insolencies of lazy Slaues, if God had not destroyed it; it beeing very true, that the *Turkish* Emperour stands at the Deuotion of his owne Troopes for Peace or Warr, Life or Death; and is, in effect, nothing but the Steward or Treasurer of his Janizaries. If this
Project

Project had taken effect, what Euent it might haue produced by a Civill Warr, is not easy to judge; for doubtless the Soldioury here would haue sett vp another King, and maynteyned him as well as they could, and this European Part had bene in danger to haue bene torne away by the Diuision. Besides, *Delauir* Bassa hauing the King and the Treasury in his Possession, and his owne Creditt so great, and his Inclynation, *velle imperare*, once discouered, it may well be thought that he had some Ends of his owne to share a Part of this mighty Estate. If, on the other side, the Vizier had proued true and faithfull, the Reformation and new Erection of the Disciptyne of Warre, and the Encrease of Treasure consequent to the Dismission of the old Militia, would haue bene fearfull to all *Christendome*; but *ubi est sapiens? ubi disquisitor sæculi huius? Perdam sapientiam sapientum, et vanam reddam intelligentiam intelligentium.* It is a great Question whether were the wiser Wish, that these Counsellis had succeeded, or not; for either Diuision and Subuersion, or a new Prosperity and Enlargement of their Dominion, had necessarily followed. Some Observations vpon this Occasion will not be very impertinent to those that desire to know as well the Disposition and Vse, as the Things themselves. First, in the Purpose of the Soldiour; not at all to violate nor hurt the King, much lesse to depose and murder him; but only to take away those about him whom they thought Assitants in this Project. Yet the Fury once on foot, they proceeded by insensible Stepps, to the uttmost of Outrage, against many Innocents in that Busines, though otherwise obnoxious; and against the Throne and Life of their owne Emperour; *ubi furor ingruat, innocentes ac noxijs iuxta cadere*

cadere. Secondly, in the Degrees; that euen yett the King had not fallen thus lowe, if first he had not lost that Awe and Reuerence which alway attendeth vpon Majestie, by vnseemely Offices done by him in the Streetes and Tauernes, apprehending many Soldiours for petty Faults like a Constable, making his Person common, cheape, and despised among them, which was wont only to be seene and feared, as somewhat *supra humanitatem*. And this he did also in Hatred and Disdayne of those that had in the Warr forsaken him. And lastly, now in his last Act, if his owne Obstinacy had not plunged him into Destruction, but that he had softened them by seasonable yeelding to Tyme, he had prevailed only by Tyme. Thirdly, in the Order; that these Mutineers hauing no Head nor Direction, kept that Reglement, that they tooke Oath in their Fury, in hot Blood, in the King's Yard, not to dishonour, spoile, nor sack the Imperiall Throne; neither committed nor suffered any Insolence nor Violence in the City to the Neutralls, butt rather proclaymed Peace and Justice. Fourthly, in the Consequence; that at the third Daye's End all was as quiett, and all Men in their Trade, as if no such thing had happened; only the Janizaries suffered no Diuan nor Councill, vntill they had receiued a Donatiue, as Guerdon of their Iniquity. In which also the infinite Wast of Treasure is worthy Consideration, which must of necessity bee exceedingly exhausted by three Changes in fower Yeares, and by the late Warrs in *Persia* and *Poland*. For euery Janizary in the Empire, absent or present, whose Roll is about forty thousand, receiues twenty-five Checquins Gold, besides Spahees, Jamoglans, and all other Orders, at euery Alteration, which amounts in all
neare

neare to two Millions. And now these Fellowes all liuing, that have tasted the Sweet of prosperous Mutinies, *haud ignari summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio*, they haue taken such a Head as cannot safely be suffered on, nor securely be taken off. Fiftly, of certeyne Præfages that foreranne; it being related to mee from the Mouth of a Caddee inward with the King, a Moneth before the Tumult, that *Osman* dreamd in the Night that he thought to ryde a Cammell; and beeing mounted, he could not force him to goe by Strypes or sayre meanes; and then, he descending in a Rage, the Body of the Beast vanished, and left his Head in the King's Hand; who next Day, troubled at this Fancy, sent to a learned Man familiar with him, for the Interpretation; he excused himselfe, as vnfit to giue Opinion in a Matter of that Consequence; but perswaded *Osman* to send to the Musti; he also craued Pardon, but withall said, there was none so fitt to interprett it as *Mustafa*, the King's Uncle, and now Emperour, who is esteemed an holy Man, that hath Visions, and angelick Speculations, in playne Termes betweene a Madd-man and a Foole. The King repaires to *Mustafa*, who briefly tells him, The Camell signifies his Empire; his Ryding, Abuse in Government; his Descention, his Deposition; the vanishing of the Body, the Reuolt of his Subjects; the Head remayning in his Hand, only a bare Title; and that he should surely dye within fewe Moneths, and loose his Kingdome, and the empty Name of Emperour accompany him to his Graue. A second of lesse Consequence, in the Vizier *Delaui* Bassa, from whom I hauing receiued particular Friendship about six Dayes before this Vp-
 rore, I went to visitt; and hauing no other Bu-
 sines butt to perswade him to stay the King from
 this

But his Mother, another *Liua*, and the new Vizier *Daout* Bassa, who had her Daughter to Wife, were vehemently suspected. It was a Day of Diuan or Councill, but these Soldiours would suffer none, vntill they had an Accompt of this Treason. The Vizier denyes all, the Mother is a Wooman, and hidden in the House, yet it is very likely that both were guilty, to vphold and secure their owne Authority, yt beeing rumored, that the Vizier determined to place Subditiouly, in the Roome of the elder Prince, his owne Sonne, and very like him, and so to gouerne *Mustafa* for a Tyme, and by his Remoue to establishe himselfe and his Race for euer. But now, somewhat must be done to appease the People; therefore *Daout* Bassa is degraded from his Office, and one *Hu-zein* Bassa, newly arriued from the Gouverment of *Cairo*, aduanced to his Place, with Promise of further Examination; since, the Fury once ouer, there hath bene no great Search nor Discovery made; I think the Sultana's Chequins have quietted the Matter. This new Vizier, a Man here without Friends, yet very rich, of a stubborne and obstinat Nature, reported just in his Waies, but peremptory and inflexible, *audax, ferox, et prout animum intendit, prauus aut industrius eadem vi*, one from whom all Men may expect much Good or much Ill, begins his Gouverment roughly, undertakes to punish Insolencies early, and professeth a Reformation, or to be a Sacrifice: a Man fitt for these Times, that are desperate; for the worst wil be, that he must at last endure their Fury. In the meane while, he procures a litle Awe, and hath restored the Face of Justice: yet, I am perswaded, yt cannot last long. The Ghost of *Osman* will not be at rest, vntill there are some
parentalia

parentalia made vnto him. The Nature of this Vizier is insupportable: but if he preuaile, and once settle himselfe, he will anew change the King, and lay an Obligation vpon the Brethren of *Osman*; for he will neuer think himselfe secure vnder a Man gouerned by an insolent Woman, *dominandi auida*, and what Assurance can he haue in that Prince, *cui non iudicium, non odium est, nisi indita et iussa*? And though I cannot foresee the Particulars, and where the Disease will breake out, yet I am sure the whole Body is sick: and the Princes of *Christendome* shall haue Breath three Yeares, before they shall haue any Cause to feare this State, whose present King is *mentis inops*; and the next in expectation, a Child vnfit for Action; and all the great Men and Soldiours decayed, mutined, and corrupted.

LETTER XXX.

Lord Baltimore to Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

WERE not my Occasions such as necessarily keep me here at this time, I would not send Letters, but fly to you myself with all the Speed I could, to expresse my own Grief, and to take part of yours, which I know is exceeding great, for the Loss of so noble a Lady, so virtuous and so loving a Wife. There are few, perhaps, can judge of it better than I, who have been a long time myself a Man of Sorrows. But all things, my Lord, in this World pass away,

statutum est, Wife, Children, Honour, Wealth, Friends, and what else is dear to Flesh and Blood; they are but lent us till God please to call for them back again, that we may not esteem any thing our own, or set our Hearts upon any thing but Him alone, who only remains for ever. I beseech his almighty Goodness to grant, that your Lordship may, for his Sake, bear this great Cross with Meekness and Patience, whose only Son, our dear Lord and Saviour, bore a greater for you; and to consider that these Humiliations, though they be very bitter, yet are they sovereign Medicines ministered unto us by our heavenly Physician to cure the Sickneses of our Souls, if the Fault be not ours. Good my Lord, bear with this Excess of Zeal in a Friend, whose great Affection to you transports him to dwell longer upon this melancholy Theme than is needful to your Lordship, whose own Wisdom, assisted with God's Grace, I hope, suggests unto you these and better Resolutions than I can offer unto your Remembrance. All I have to say more is but this; that I humbly and heartily pray you so to dispose of yourself and your Affairs (the Rites being done to that noble Creature) as to be able to remove, as soon as conveniently you may, from those Parts, where so many Things represent themselves unto you, as to make your Wound bleed afresh; and let us have you here, where the gracious Welcome of your Master, the Conversation of your Friends, and Variety of Business may divert your Thoughts the sooner from sad Objects; the Continuance whereof will but endanger your Health, on which depends the Welfare of your Children, the Comfort of your Friends, and many other good Things; for which

I hope God will reserve you, to whose divine Favour I humbly recommend you, and remain ever

Your Lordship's

most affectionate

From my Lodging in
Lincolns-Inn-Fields,
Oct. 17, 1631.

and faithful Servant,

GEO. BALTIMORE.

LETTER XXXI.

*Lord Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland,
to the Earl of Portland, Lord Treasurer
to Charles I.*

May it please your Lordship,

SINCE I had the Honour to serve his Majesty, Calumny and Misreport have been my Portions, which, for the most part, were passed over in Silence and Disdain; but when they dare attempt your Lordship to my Prejudice, then I confess they touch me very nearly, considering that if I commit any wilful Crime here, where I have received, and to whom I profess so much, I must even acknowledge myself incapable any longer of Trust or Friendship amongst Men.

Pardon me therefore, I beseech your Lordship, if I be as far from digesting this Wrong, as I shall be ever found innocent from the Guilt.

I understand some shameless Person or other hath insinuated with your Lordship, as if I went about to be Treasurer, and lays for a Ground of that Opinion my Forwardness in his Majesty's

Service. This I have cursorily and slightly in a Letter from my Cousin *Wandesford*; but with me it imprints, sinks, strikes deeper than to pass along so easily from me. Lord! With what Shadows would they have overcast my Negligence, with what Darkness have benighted the least Commission, that can fetch this Conclusion out of those Premises?

I will not deny, it is a full Truth indeed, that there inhabits with me an infinite Zeal and Vigilance to serve my Master, the most accepted Way I can devise; nor shall any private Ease or Profit cool or lessen it, or any Endeavour from Abroad make me understand it as a Fault to do so: Yet, my Lord, I do not greedily serve to repair a broken Fortune, much less out of any ambitious Desires, which (if any ever in me) were long ago laid to rest upon my receiving this Place from his Majesty, through the Means of my Friends, I confess (being then altogether a Stranger to the King in Service and Person) and of them, your Lordship the very Principal.

No, no, my Lord, they are those sovereign and great Duties I owe his Majesty and your Lordship, which thus provoke me beyond my own Nature, rather to leave those cooler Shades, wherein I took choicest Pleasure, and thus put myself with you into the Heat of the Day, than poorly and meanly to start aside from my Obligations, convinced in myself of the most wretched Ingratitude in the whole World.

God knows how little Delight I take in the Outwards of this Life, how infinitely ill satisfied I am with myself, to find daily those calm and quiet Retirements, wherein to contemplate some Things more divine and sacred than this World
can

can afford us, at every Moment interrupted thorough the Importunity of the Affairs I have already. To Heaven and Earth I protest it, it grieves my very Soul, and that it is nothing but Love (if I may be admitted a Word of so near a Distance, and of so little Courtship) to the Persons of his Majesty and yourself, that could make me take up this Yoke and follow; no other Affection or Passion could effect it.

So, my Lord, once for all, let me find Belief with you: if I obtain it not from you, with the greatest Sereneness possible (pardon me for saying so) you do that Friendship and Confidence, which ought to pass between Men of Honour, infinite Wrong, and render yourself the most inexcusable Man towards me that lives.

Let Shame and Confusion then cover me, if I do not abhor the intolerable Anxiety I well understand to wait inseparably upon that Staff, if I should not take a Serpent as soon into my Bosom, and, if I once find so mean a Thought of me can enter into your Heart, as that to compass whatever I could take most Delight in, I should go about beguilefully to supplant any ordinary Man (how much more then impotently to catch at such a Staff and from my Lord Treasurer) if I leave not the Court instantly, betake myself to my private Fortune; reposedly seek my Contentment and Quiet within my own Doors, and follow the Dictamen of my own Reason and Conscience, more according to Nature and Liberty, than in those Gyves which now pinch and hang upon me.

Thus you see how easily you may be rid of me when you list, and in good Faith with a thousand Thanks; yet be pleased not to judge, this proceeds out of any wayward weary Humour in me

neither : for my Endeavours are as vigorous and as chearful to serve the Crown and you, as ever they were, nor shall you ever find them to faint or flackuer. I am none of those soft tempered Spirits : but I cannot endure to be mistaken, or suffer my purer and more intire Affections to be soiled, or in the least degree prejudiced, with the lothsome and odious Attributes of Covetousness and ambitious Falsehood. Do me but Right in this, judge my Watches to issue (as in Faith they do) from those clearer Cisterns. I lay my Hand under your Foot, I despise Danger, I laugh at Labour. Command me in all Difficulties, in all Confidence, in all Readiness.

Your Lordship's

ever most faithful Friend,

*York, this 21st of
October, 1632.*

and most humble Servant,

WENTWORTH.

LETTER XXXII.

Archbishop Laude to Lord Wentworth.

Salutem in Christo.

My very good Lord,

IT seems by your late Letters which I have received, that you have taken your Leave of *Fulham* : the Bishop you say is gone, and I believe that's true. God speed him as well where he now is, as he did there. As for your Letters (and yourself, when you come) they shall be as welcome
to

to *Lambeth* as they were to *Fulham*. And since you have learnt the Way to be a little merry, I would you and your Cousin *Sibbs* had been the other Day at the Council-table, where I never heard, you know whom, in a better Mood verily.

I am very glad to read your Lordship so resolute, and more, to hear you affirm, that the Footing of them, which go thorough for our Master's Service, is not now upon Fee, as it hath been. But you are withal upon so many *Is*s, that by their Help you may preserve any Man upon Ice, be it never so slippery. As first, if the common Lawyers may be contained within their ancient and sober Bounds; if the Word *Thorough* be not left out (as I am certain it is) if we grow not faint; if we ourselves be not in fault; if it come not to a *Peccatum ex te Israel*; if others will do their Parts as thoroughly as you promise for yourself, and justly conceive of me. Now I pray, with so many and such *Is*s as these, what may not be done, and in a brave and noble Way? But can you tell when these *Is*s will meet, or be brought together? Howsoever, I am resolved to go on steadily in the Way, which you have formerly seen me go, so that (to put in one *If* too) if any thing fail of my hearty Desires for the King and the Church's Service, the Fault shall not be mine.

The Indisposition, of which I wrote unto your Lordship, I thank God, passed over quickly, tho' I find that I cannot follow your Counsel; for *Croydon* is too far off to go often to it, and my Leisure here hath hitherto been extremely little, I may truly call it none. Besides, the Lady *Davis* hath prophesied against me, that I shall not many Days outlive the 5th of *November*, and then to

what End should I trouble myself with Exercise, or the like ?

My Lord, I thank you, that you are pleased so kindly and so nobly to take that which I writ unto you about the Archbishop of *Dublin*, and his taking upon him, together with the rest of the Popish Clergy, to meddle with the Civil Government, of which I doubt not but your Lordship will be very careful, as of all things else that may weaken the Power of that Party in that Kingdom. But I had not ventured to write any thing to you in this Business, if your Lordship had not required it of me. But your Lordship doth very prudently in bearing with them, till the Parliament be over, that there you may make use of them for the King's Service. And that Contention between the Regulars and the Seculars is grown so general and so warm, that you may easily hold up *Harris*, if no Decision come to the contrary : and a brave Service it will be, if you can settle the Revenues of that Kingdom.

I perceive you mean to build, but as yet your Materials are not come in ; but if that Work do come to me before *Christmas*, as you promise it shall, I will rife every Corner in it ; and you know, my good Lord, after all your Bragging, how I served you at *York*, and your Church-work there ; especially I pray provide a good riding House, if there be ever a decayed Body of a Church to make it in, and then you shall be well fitted : for you know one is made your Stable already, if you have not reformed it, of which I did look for an Account, according to my Remembrances, before this Time.

I find your Lordship hath a good Opinion of my Lord Primate's Learning and Honesty, and I
verily

verily think, he will not deceive your Expectation in either; but you are pleased to ask me a Question, Whether that be all that goes to a good Bishop and a good Governor? I must needs answer, No; but if that which is further required be wanting in him, I am the more sorry; but I will tell you my Lord, I pray God all be well in his and the other Bishops Apprehensions concerning your Lordship and your Government there. For, before you went, I writ, as I thought, and think still, very largely in your Commendation, how thorough you would be for the King and the Church; it may be they understood this otherways than I could mean it, or your Lordship perform it, and did not look with such a prudent Eye as they should, upon the Necessities of that Place: and methinks it may stand for an Observation, that I who had frequent Letters before from my Lord Primate, have not received any one that I remember, since your Lordship went thither.

My Lord, I did not take you to be so good a Physician before, as now I see you are; for the Truth is, a great many Church-Cormorants have fed so full upon it, that they are fallen into a Fever; and for that no Physick is better than a Vomit, if it be given in time; and therefore you have taken a very judicious Course to administer one so early to my Lord of *Cork*. I hope it will do him good, though perchance he thinks not so; for if the Fever hang long about him, or the rest, it will certainly shake either them or their Estates in pieces. Go on, my Lord; I must needs say this is thorough indeed, and so is your Physic too; for a Vomit never ends kindly, that doth not work both Ways, and that is thorough. Nor can I answer, what became of the Primate and the

the rest of the Bishops, while the poor inferior Clergy were thus oppressed, more than this, that I ever thought it was not in their Power to help it. But if any of them be as bad for Oppression of the Church as any Layman, that I am sure is unanswerable; and if it appear so to you, great Pity it is, but some one or other of the chief Offenders should be made a public Example, and turned out of his Bishoprick. And, I believe, such a Course once held, would do more Good in *Ireland* than any thing that hath been there this forty Years.

Now for your Question, What my Lord of *Cork* will say? I cannot tell; but sure I am, so many of the Fraternity as think it Popery to set the Communion-table at the End of the Chancel, and for the Prebends to come in their Formalities to Church, are either ignorant or factious Fools. But I warrant you the poor Vicar thinks very well of you, and so doth the King, to whom I have told what Physic you have given the Earl of *Cork*.

But, I warrant you, I am thought as odd an Archbishop as you can be a Deputy; for my Lady *Davis* she prophesies against me, that I shall not many Days outlive the 5th of *November*. And I think I sent your Lordship word before of one *Bowyer*, a Rogue that broke Prison, but said he came newly from beyond the Seas, and went up and down the Country railing against me, and making me no less than a Traitor; but he was brought to the Star-chamber, the 13th of *November*, and there soundly censured; the Rogue confessed all, and all by the Devil, but would acknowledge no Confederates. And now there is another Fellow half mad, that comes into the Court with

with a great Sword by his Side, and rails upon the Archbishop, God knows for what, and says, he will have Justice of the King against him, or take another Course for it himself. Would not this encourage any Man to do Service?

One thing more and then I have done; you will herein find an inclosed Paper, it came from my Lord the Bishop of *Durham*, and by it you may see the Effects of your Composition in the North; do not you think this may make a fine Noise in time? I hope you will hear of this the next Parliament, as well as others have done for less Matters. Well, it is time to make an end; and so I leave you to the Grace of God, ever resting

Your Lordship's

poor loving Friend to serve you,

*Lambeth, Nov.
15th, 1633.*

W. CANT.

LETTER XXXIII.

Lord Wentworth to Sir William Saville.

My dear Nephew,

IT shall be much Contentment unto me, when the Power or Means I have, may communicate any thing which may be of Acceptation with you: and now that it hath pleased God to take from you your Mother, I hold myself more bound to preserve a Care for you, being sorry that my Remoteness renders me of less Use unto you now upon your Entrance into the World, than perchance otherwise I might have been.

It is true, that it is not my Custom to put myself into Counsels uncalled, and having been a Minister in the troublesome Settlement of your Estate, methought it might have stood well enough with Civility and Discretion to have let me been acquainted with the Course of your new Conveyances, when you and I were both at *London* last; being so made a Stranger to that End, the effecting and accomplishing whereof, I had so painfully endeavoured for so many Years together. Surely neither I nor mine should have been a Penny better by it; for I must tell you, for all the Service I have done you and your House, I never had the worth of a Groat forth of your Purse, or the Purse of your Mother, and, which is more, never will; for I trust by God's Blessing to leave my Child an Estate able to maintain him as a Gentleman, without being burthensome to any.

And indeed, if I did not conceive this Neglect was rather the Good-will of *Cookson* than any formal Direction of your own, I should resolve to perform my own Duty towards the Nearness of that Blood which runs in our Veins, without ever desiring to intermeddle at all in your Counsels for the Government of yourself and Fortune; but indeed your Years shew me, you were in all Discretion to be meerly passive in that Action, and no doubt having my Lord Keeper's Advice therein, all is well and orderly disposed and executed.

Admit me then, in Consideration and Remembrance of your noble Father, and that I may say to my own Heart, I have not betrayed the Trust he was pleased to repose in me, to deliver you my Opinion, how you are futurely to dispose yourself and Fortune; which, as it shall come from me with
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all the Candour in the World, so doth it also with all the Indifferency possible; desiring God Almighty that you may not follow one Word of Advice of mine, where there is a better for you to govern yourself after.

Being then upon that Period of Life, that as you set forth now at first, you will in all likelihood continue so to the End, be it you take the Paths of Virtue or the contrary, you cannot consider yourself, and advise and debate your Actions with your Friends too much; and till such time as Experience hath ripened your Judgment, it shall be great Wisdom and Advantage, to distrust yourself, and to fortify your Youth by the Counsel of your more aged Friends, before you undertake any thing of Consequence. It was the Course that I governed myself by after my Father's Death, with great Advantage to myself and Affairs: and yet my Breeding abroad hath shewn me more of the World than yours hath done, and I had natural Reason like other Men, only I confess I did in all things distrust myself; wherein you shall do, as I said, extremely well if you do so too.

I conceive you should lay aside all Thoughts of going up to *London* these four or five Years, live in your own House, order and understand your own Estate; inform and employ yourself in the Affairs of the Country; carry yourself respectfully and kindly towards your Neighbours; desire the Company of such as are well governed and discreet amongst them, and make them as much as you can your Friends; in Country Business keeping yourself from all Faction; and at the first be not too positive, or take too much upon you, till you fully understand the Course of Proceedings; for, have but a little Patience, and the Command
and

and Government of that Part of the Country will infallibly fall into your Hands, with Honour to yourself, and Contentment to others; whereas if you catch at it too soon, it will be but a Means to publish your want of Understanding and Modesty and that you shall grow cheap and in Contempt before them that shall see you undertake that, where you are not able to guide yourself in your own Way.

Be sure to moderate your Expence, so as it may be without foolish Waste or mean Savings: take your own Accompts, and betimes inure yourself to examine how your Estate prospers, where it suffers, or where it is to be improved; otherwise there will such an Easiness and Neglect gather upon you, as it may be you will never patiently endure the Labour of it whilst you live; and so, as much as in you lies, cast from you that which tends most to the Preservation of your Fortune, of any other Thing; for I am persuaded few Men, that understood their Expence, ever wasted; and few that do not, ever well governed their Estate.

Considering that your Houses in my Judgment are not suitable to your Quality, nor yet your Plate and Furniture, I conceive your Expence ought to be reduced to two Thirds of your Estate, the rest saved to the accommodating of you in that kind; those things provided, you may, if you see Cause, enlarge yourself the more.

In these, and all things else, you shall do passing well to consult Mr. Greenwood, who hath seen much, is very well able to judge, and certainly most faithful to you. If you use him not most respectfully, you deal extreme ungrateful with him, and ill for yourself. He was the Man your Father loved and trusted above all Men, and
did

did as faithfully discharge the Trust reposed in him, as ever in my time I knew any Man do for his dead Friend; taking excessive Pains in settling your Estate with all possible Chearfulness, without Charge to you at all; his Advice will be always upright, and you may safely pour your Secrets into him, which by that time you have conversed a little more abroad in the World, you will find to be the greatest and noblest Treasure this World can make any Man Owner of; and I protest to God, were I in your Place, I would think him the greatest and best Riches I did or could possess.

In any Case, think not of putting yourself into Court before you be thirty Years of Age at least; till your Judgment be so awakened, as that you may be able to discover and put aside such Trains, as will always infallibly be there laid for Men of great Fortunes, by a Company of Flesh Flies, that ever buzz up and down the Palaces of Princes: and this let me tell you, I have seen many Men of great Estates come young thither, and spend all, but did I never see a good Estate prosper amongst them that put itself forward before the Master had an Experience and Knowledge how to husband and keep it. I having observed that the Errors of young Gallants in that kind ever proved fatal and irremediable, be their Wits or Providence never so great in playing their After-games; one only excepted, and how it may yet prove with him, God knows.

For your Servants, neither use them so familiarly as to lose your Reverence at their Hands, nor so disdainfully as to purchase yourself their Ill-will; but carry it in an equal Temper towards them, both in Punishment and Rewards. For

Cookson,

Cookson, I hold him a churlish proud-natured Companion, but withal honest, and I am persuaded will be a good Servant; if you keep him from Drink, much better. Howbeit, you shall do well to take his Accompts orderly and weekly, taking to you Mr. *Greenwood* to help you till you have gained the Skill yourself.

You are left as weak in Friends as any Gentleman I ever knew of your Quality; but how much more careful ought you then to be to oblige Men by your respective courteous Usage towards them, and provident Circumspection towards yourself? You are, as I have observed, rash and hasty, apt to fall to censure others, and exercise your Wit upon them: take heed of it, it is a Quality of great Offence to others, and Danger towards a Man's self; and that jeering, jesting Demeanor is not to be used but where a Man hath great Interest in the Person, and knows himself to be understood to love and respect him truly; with such a one, if the Man be sad and wise to take and return it the right Way, a Man may be sometimes bold, but otherwise never.

Let no Company or Respect ever draw you to Excess in Drink; for be you well assured, that if that ever possess you, you are instantly drunk to all Honour and Employment in the State; drunk to all the Respects your Friends will otherwise pay you, and shall by unequal staggering Paces go to your Grave with Confusion of Face, as well in them that love you, as in yourself; and therefore abhor all Company that might intice you that Way.

Spend not too much Time, nor venture too much Money at Gaming; it is a great Vanity that possesseth some Men, and in most is occasioned

sioned by a greedy Mind of Winning, which is a Pursuit not becoming a generous noble Heart, which will not brook such starving Considerations as those.

In a Word, guide yourself in all things in the Paths of Goodness and Virtue, and so persevere therein, that you may thence take out those Rules, which being learnt, may (when it comes to your turn) as well grace and enable you to lead and govern others, as (whilst you are learning of them) it will become you to follow and obey others: and thus shall you possess your Youth in Modesty, and your elder Years in Wisdom.

God Almighty prosper and bless you, in your Person, in your Lady, in your Children, and in your Estate, wherein no Friend you have shall take more Contentment than

Your most affectionate Uncle

and most faithful Friend,

Dublin-Castle, this 29th
of December, 1633.

WENTWORTH.

LETTER XXXIV.

Archbishop Laude to the Earl of Corke.

Salutem in Christo.

My very good Lord,

IT is very true, that I have taken Exceptions to the Monument which you have built in St. Patrick's Church; and I hope your Lordship will easily

easily conceive, I could not prophesy of any such Thing; and therefore must needs have the Knowledge of it from thence, as I assure your Lordship I had, and from good Hands; though I cannot now recal from whom. My Lord, the Report that the Tomb was built in the Place where the High-Altar stood, and the Communion-table should now stand, did not come lately to me, as your Lordship supposes; for, I assure you I heard of it, and complained of it to the King, and desired Remedy, before ever my Lord Deputy, that now is, was so much as named to that Place. And therefore, whereas your Lordship writes, that you built it three Years since, and never heard any Mouth opened against it; it seems some Months, which durst not open there, did open fully here; for I assure you, upon my Credit, the Information before-mentioned came unto me. I had then just Cause to doubt, considering the Forms of all other Cathedrals which I had seen, that the East Window was darkened by it; but that it is not so, I am fully satisfied. For the other Exception, that it stands where the High-Altar stood, and the Communion-table ought to stand, I must clearly confess to your Lordship, I am not satisfied; nor whether it will not take off too much Room from the Choir, when the Screen is built as you intend it. Neither can your Lordship think, that I shall make myself Judge of these or any other Inconveniencies, having never been upon the Place to see it, but shall leave it wholly to such View and Consideration as shall there be had of it, yet wishing with all my Heart that you had erected that Monument upon the Side of the Quire, or any other convenient Place, rather than where you have now set it.

it: And I must needs tell your Lordship, such an Erection as that would have asked very good Deliberation where to have placed it. As for the Dean and Chapter's Consent, if they had understood themselves and the Church better, your Lordship had been free from these Fears. I have received, together with your Lordship's Letters, two other, one from my Lord Primate of *Armagh*, and the other from the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*; but neither of their Reports do fully satisfy me, as will appear by the Answer I have given their Lordships; neither can I give your Lordship such an Answer as I see you expect: for, as yet, never did I see that Cathedral Church, where the High-Altar stood in the Lady *Mary's* Chapel, and not at the upper End of the Quire; which Place, under favour of better Judgments, I cannot say is a fit Place for any Man's Monument. And whereas your Lordship writes at the latter End of your Letters, that you bestow a great Part of your Estate and Time in charitable Works, I am heartily glad to hear it; but withal, your Lordship will, I hope, give me Leave to deal freely with you, and then I must tell your Lordship, if you have done as you write, you have suffered strangely for many Years together by the Tongues of Men, who have often and constantly affirmed, that you have not been a very good Friend to the Church in the Point of her Maintenance. I hope these Reports are not true, but if they be, I cannot account your Works charitable, having no better Foundation than the Livelihood of the Church taken away to do them. I am sorry I cannot give your Lordship any other Answer to your Letters, than what here I have written,

written, and therefore leave the Tomb to be viewed and ordered by my Lord Deputy and the Archbishops there, as they shall find fittest to be done. So I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest,

Your Lordship's loving poor Friend,

*Lambeth, March
21, 1633.*

W. CANT.

LETTER XXXV.

King Charles I. to the Lord Wentworth.

Wentworth,

THE great Dispatch that your Brother brought me, has given me so much Satisfaction, that I could not but testify it by my own Hand. Though I know you will find my public Letters anuse to your Contentment, and full anuse to make this short; yet there is one General and one Particular, that I will name to you to take care of, to wit, the Parliament and *Arundel*; in a Word, to content them both, so far as may not be to my Prejudice. As for *Arundel*, I need say no more; but as for that Hydra, take good Heed; for you know, that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is trew, that your Grounds are well layed, and, I assure you, that I have a great Trust in your Care and Judgment; yet my Opinion is, that it will not be the worse for my Service, though their Obstinacy make you to break them, for I fear that they have some Ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give.

give. This I would not say, if I had not Confidence in your Courage and Dexterity; that, in that Case, you would set me down there an Example what to do here. So I rest

Your assured Friend,

London, April 17,
1634.

CHARLES R.

L E T T E R XXXVI.

Lord Wentworth to Lord Cottington.

My very good Lord,

IT contents me much to find by your Lordship's Letters, and in myself too, that you are and may be satisfied, I shall never depart from that ancient Friendship and Obligation I have had with you and from you. It is true, I find well enough I am upon the disadvantage Ground, where I am like still to be troublesome to my Friends, and seldom in Place and Season to speak either for myself or for them, which, in good Faith I should the more freely do of the two; I spend more here than I have of Entertainments from his Majesty; I suffer extremely from my own private at home; I spend my Body and Spirits with extreme Toil; I sometimes undergo the Misconstructions of those, I conceived should not, would not, have used me so, in such a Measure (I know well what I write) as I vow to you, I would absolutely leave all, but that I have the Comfort and Assurance of my Master to be with him

him accepted; however I be with others. God reward that Goodness towards this absent Servant of his, and make me able to serve him answerable to those sovereign Duties I owe him.

But I am resolved to complain of nothing: I have been something unprosperous, slowly heard, and as coldly answered that Way. I will either subsist by the Integrity of my own Actions, or I will perish before I think longer of borrowing a Being from any but my Master; if he think me worthy of it, he will preserve me; if not I will go home and pray for him.

In the mean time I will be constant and intire in the Professions I made to my Friends before I sat a Foot on *Irish* Earth, and bring them back with me if I live, kept without Stain, and returned where I made them without Violation.

These are the Weapons I purpose to defend and offend by, and these shall neither Craft nor Force be able ever to wring out of my Heart or Hands.

And if you on that Side need Friends, as well as we on this, I am sure, do; I wish you may find them to your full Contentment, which is a greater Blessing, they tell me here, than ever be-fel a Deputy of *Ireland*. But I could ever desire better for them I love, than I could hope for myself.

I shall not need to trouble your Lordship with any thing that hath passed in the Affairs on this Side, having given Order to my Brother to bring you the Duplicates of my Dispatches, which, if you please to take the Pains to read, will clearly let you see the State wherein they stand, as I take it,

it, prosperous enough, God be ever praised for it.

For the Lady you mention, in good Faith, I cannot for my Life imagine whom they should mean; sure I am my Cat hath no such Ears, nor, to use the Northern Proverb, *need I set up a new Mill for the little Grist which is left me.* How you find yourself in Life and Liking under your Widow's Cloak, will not be easily discerned, so soberly are you able to cover it with a *Spanish Gravity*; yet some of the Learned are of Opinion you will be now and then found buying of Pigeons; your *Englishmen* bred in *Spain* are taken to be shrewd Fellows that way.

Well, the Wind and Tide stay no Man's Leisure, no not a Deputy's, albeit in *Ireland*. The Messenger must be gone, and I must make an end. For Love of God hasten back these Laws we now transmit, that they may be here the 26th of next Month, or we shall have just nothing to do. And so with the sound and chearful Heart I have ever preserved for you, since I have had the Happiness to be esteemed your Friend, I wish you and all yours Continuance of Health, and Increase of all Happiness.

Your Lordship's

Dublin,
22d. Dec. 1634.

Most faithful humble Servant,

WENTWORTH.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

*King Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.**Wentworth,*

TH E Accounts that you give me are so good, that if I should answer them particularly, my Letters would rather seem Panegyricks than Dispatches; so leaving them I come to those things, wherein you require Directions. And although I shall refer myself to Secretary *Coke* for answer of those things that are in the public Dispatches; yet concerning two of them I must express my own Sense, to wit, the not continuing of the Parliament, and the Guard of the Coast. For the First, my Reasons are grounded upon my Experience of them here; they are of the Nature of Cats, they ever grow curst with Age; so that if ye will have good of them, put them off handsomely when they come to any Age; for young one's are ever most tractable: and in earnest you will find, that nothing can more conduce to the beginning of a new, than the well ending of the former Parliament, wherefore now that we are well, let us content ourselves therewith.

London,
22d. Jan. 1634.

Your most assured Friend,

CHARLES Rex.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Lord Wentworth to Archbishop Laude.

May it please your Grace,

I AM gotten hither to a poor House I have, having been this last Week almost feasted to Death at York. In truth, for any thing I can find, they were not ill pleased to see me. Sure I am, it much contented me to be amongst my old Acquaintance, which I would not leave for any other Affection I have, but to that which I both profess and owe to the Person of his sacred Majesty. Lord! With what Quietness in myself could I live here in comparison of that Noise and Labour I met with elsewhere; and I protest put up more Crowns in my Purse at the Year's End too. But we'll let that pass. For I am not like to enjoy that blessed Condition upon Earth. And therefore my Resolution is set, to endure and struggle with it so long as this crazy Body will bear it; and finally drop into the silent Grave, where both all these (which I now could, as I think, innocently delight myself in) and myself are to be forgotten; and fare them well. I persuade myself *exuto lepidio* I am able to lay them down very quietly, and yet leave behind me, as a Truth not to be forgotten, a perfect and full Remembrance of my being

Your Grace's

*Gawthorp this 17th
of Aug. 1636.*

Most humbly to be commanded,

WENTWORTH.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

Lord Wentworth to King Charles I.

May it please your sacred Majesty,

IN Pursuit of the Command received at *Rusford*, I have effectually, both in public and private, recommended the Justice and Necessity of the Shipping-busines, and so clearly shewn it to be not only for the Honour of the Kingdom in general, but for every Man's particular Safety; as I am most confident the Assesment this next Year will be universally and chearfully answered through this whole Jurisdiction. And whereas I then truly informed your Majesty, that upon a Difference betwixt the County at large, and the County of the City of *York*, there was some thirty Pounds yet behind. I have set a Course for the present Payment of that small Remainder, and so quieted the Controversy, as no Disturbance can thereby happen to the Service hereafter.

My Lord *Marshall* left a Letter for me before his Departure; howbeit of very late came to my Hand, by which I find his Lordship much unsatisfied concerning some Stay of that other procured by him from your Majesty under the Signet. I am bold to inclose a Duplicate of my Answer, and thereby represent a true State of the Business, and of my Carriage therein, without easing myself any way upon your Majesty's Commands, or being beaten; I trust from the Grounds I must proceed upon in this Business. Besides, your Majesty will not be the worse prepared to receive any Suit his Lordship may further make, or to
give

give Answer thereunto, such as shall seem good unto your Wisdom.

If this were the only Displeasure I had contracted in serving faithfully (as I shall ever do) it might be borne more easily and silently; but it is much otherwise with me, as I have heard since I attended your Majesty. My Carriage on this Side hath been towards all so circumspect and observant, as I well trusted there had not been the least Offence or Scandal given or taken: yet it seems I have left some great and powerful Persons in such a Distemper towards me and themselves, as, in a manner, every where to avow a Resolution set for my Ruin.

It is likewise discoursed much to my Prejudice, as they think, that my Return must be without any Mark of your Majesty's Favour, whereby my Innocency and just Acquittal might be declared to the hearing of others, or myself strengthened or graced in the Course of my Service; albeit, they say, I had been defamed for barbarous and cruel Usage of the late Earl of *St. Albans*, and the Lord *Mountnorris*; slanted upon by Sir *James Galloway* and Mr. *Barr*, in their Proposition to your Majesty, as a Cozener and Impostor in the Customs, under a Pretence of doing great Service; charged by Sir *Piers Crosby* with an horrid Murder, the silly Man daily countenanced and fomented by some at Court in his senseless Calumnies; and, in a Word, reported to all the World rather for a Bassaw of *Buda*, than the Minister of a pious and Christian King.

Little do I find myself moved with any or all of these; I can smile at their Vanity, that glorify themselves in being reported the Contrivers and Procurers of this imputed Coldness and Disre-

gard, nay, esteem them as little powerful as they would be thought almighty in such a Case; and, which is far above all the rest, securely repose myself, and humbly wait upon your Majesty's gracious Promise, that I shall receive such a Mark of your Favour as will silence these Spirits, and set me right again, as well in the Opinion of others, as for your own Service.

Yet where the Storm sets so dark upon me, and my Absence likely to be of some Continuance, I cannot conceal that there are many things upon this Occasion, which I desire to offer; some for the Prosperity of your Affairs, some for my own Defence and Safety, and all of them fitter to be discoursed than written. So as if it be possible, and that your Majesty will admit me thereunto, I propose to wait at Court a Day or two in my Passage towards the Charge your Majesty intrusteth me with in *Ireland*, and there attend your future Commands, with and through all the Expressions of

Your Majesty's

Wentworth-Woodhouse,
23d Aug. 1636.

Most faithful, and most

Humble Subject and Servant,

WENTWORTH.

L E T.

LETTER XL.

Lord Wentworth to Archbishop Laude.

May it please your Grace,

BY the inclosed Duplicate of a Letter, which I now send to his Majesty, and have desired Mr. Secretary *Coke* to deliver for me, your Grace will further understand what Use is made of my being sent back without any public Mark of his Majesty's Favour.

And for myself, I could be content to be led on in their Triumph, and contribute my Silence to their Glory. But considering that most of the World are more carried with Opinion than Reason, with outward Seemings than Inward Truths, I very much fear this Neglect (with which, as they interpret and report it, I am to be passed over) will embolden Men upon me both in *England* and *Ireland*, further than may consist with the good and speedy Dispatch of his Majesty's Affairs on that Side, and stir up a mighty Opposition to all the great Services now in hand.

In present, all goes smoothly forward; but that proceeds not so much out of any good Affection this Crown hath to trust unto from that People, as by reason my Credit with his Majesty is there held to be greater than can be shaken by them. I protest in all Soberness, such a Credit I neither merit, expect, or covet; yet, for them to believe so, shall operate extremely to his Majesty's Advantage. Nay, I must confess, contented I should be, they should think so still, nor must I ever help to light them forth of their Error.

Again, I am not afraid of any Man's Complaint, being well assured in myself, that whoever questions me, shall work towards my greater Justification, and manifest the more my Integrity and Faith to his Majesty. And yet, I am not so in love with them, as wantonly to bring their Vexation or Noise upon myself. I conceive, I know to bestow my Time and Watches much better. Besides, I always observe, that Clamours, how unjust soever, distract and hinder Business; for they are not to be judged without hearing, which commonly runs up much Time, and in the mean Space, all is at a Stand, and every Eye at the Gaze. Witness the Opposition in the County of *Galloway*, and Mr. *Barr*, whose Brains had they been only busied in Things belonging unto them, and within their Understanding, the same that is done by me now, had been accomplished at least a Year sooner, with above 10,000 *l.* more Profit to his Majesty: and yet, such is their Impudence, they pretend, as I hear, to the Reward of that Service, which I may fully take both Egg and Bird for my own Peculiar, it being most certain, and was made appear undeniably before his Majesty and your Lordships at *Windsor*, that their Part was nothing, saving the Offer of a Proposition, the most ignorant, the most dishonourable, and the most unjust, that in all my Life I ever read.

Upon the whole Matter, I foresee that the uttering of this Coin, how false or adulterate soever, by Persons not well affected towards me, will sharpen and stir ill Humours, and put a huge Prejudice upon me in the Service of the Crown. And therefore I beseech your Grace,
taking

taking your Hint from these Grounds, to move his Majesty that I may receive some Mark of his Favour, and that it may be conferred upon me some such Way as shall render it comely and public. I submit it to your Grace's Wisdom, whether you shall be pleased to move in the general, or for an Earldom in the particular, which, if I flatter not myself too far, I may without Offence pretend unto.

Whatsoever the Success be, I will serve his Majesty, by the Help of God, with the same Diligence, Labour, and Faith, as formerly; yet, to confess a plain Truth to your Grace, with whom I neither must nor can ever dissemble, with less Chearfulness in myself hereafter.

Your Grace may be pleased to let me hear from you, by my Lord of *Newcastle*, who being now at *Oxford*, will favour me so far, I am sure, as safely to deliver unto me whatever he receives from your Grace.

I foresee this Time will be with your Lordship of much Care about little and small Matters. I will therefore detain you no longer than to give you this Assurance, that I am inviolably

Your Grace's

Wentworth-Woodhouse,
26th of Aug, 1636. *Most humbly to be commanded,*

WENTWORTH.

L E T T E R XLII.

Archbishop Laude, to Lord Wentworth.

Salutem in Christo.

My very good Lord,

YOUR Letters came to me very seasonably. For, had they come to me one Hour later, I could have had no Opportunity to speak with the King, as you desire, for some Mark of his Favour to be set, and now, upon you. I moved fully, both in general, and for the particular you mention. His Majesty's Answer was, that he would do that which should strengthen you enough against any Practising here. But commanded me to tell you, that for the Particular, and all that concerned it, he would give you Answer himself so soon as he came to his next Place of Leisure.

Your Lordship's

*Oxford, Aug.
ult. 1636.*

loving poor Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

L E T T E R XLII.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.

Wentworth,

CERTAINLY I shou'd be much to blame, not to admit so good a Servant as you are, to speak with me, since I deny it to none that there

there is not a just Exception against; yet I must freely tell you, that the Cause of this Desire of yours, if it be known, will rather hearten than discourage your Enemies: for, if they can once find that you apprehend the dark setting of a Storm, when I say no, they will make you leave to care for any thing in a short while but for your Fears. And, believe it, the Marks of my Favours that stop malicious Tongues are neither Places nor Titles, but the little Welcome I give to Accusers, and the willing Ear I give to my Servants: this is, not to disparage those Favours, (for Envy flies most at the fairest Mark) but to shew their Use; to wit, not to quell Envy, but to reward Service; it being truly so, when the Master without the Servant's Importunity does it, otherwise Men judge it more to proceed from the Servant's Wit, than the Master's Favour. I will end with a Rule, that may serve for a Statesman, a Courtier, or a Lover: never make a Defence or Apology before you be accused. And so I rest

Your assured Friend,

Lindburst, 3d Sept. 1636.

CHARLES R.

For my Lord Marshal, as you have armed me,
so I warrant you.

L E T T E R XLII.

Lord Wentworth, to Charles I.

May it please your sacred Majesty,

THE Letter vouchsafed me from *Lindburst*, the third of this present, awakens me with your gracious Favour to express myself further in some few Particulars, lest perchance my Desires and the Grounds of them might be conceived otherwise than I meant.

The dark setting of a Storm was not with the least Apprehension, that your Majesty's gracious and chearful Favours were either lessened or languishing towards me, but had relation merely to some near your Majesty, who publickly profess my Ruin.

Nor was, or ever can, this or any other the like Storm be able to affright or shake me from the Duties or Faith I owe unto your Majesty's Commands. I trust, such a Poverty of Spirit shall not be imputed unto a Mind long since resolved freely to sacrifice a Life, as often as required, for the least of your good Pleasures. It is indeed altogether impossible I should begin to care less for your Service, meanly or at all to weigh my own greatest Dangers, where your Majesty's smallest Interests are concerned; much less under Favour to care for nothing but my own Fears. And yet (I find it) this immoveable Purpose doth consist well enough with a moderate Foresight, so to provide for a Safety, as it may be without your Trouble, judging otherwise my Being or Well-being less in Value, than
 2 that

that it should cost your Majesty so much as a Dispute to preserve me.

Whatever your Majesty appoints, shall please me most, it being certainly best for me, rather really to live in your gracious good Opinion, than only to be thought so by others: yet better for your Affairs in *Ireland*, I might seem and appear so to them on that Side. So then, whilst I did most confidently trust through your Majesty's Goodness, that I had the best for myself, it will be, I hope, very pardonable, if I did desire to better my Condition also, as I stood in relation to those Affairs, and the Greatness of the Service now in View amongst them.

As for Wit, or Importunity; in the former, I did never affect other than a single Plainness, nor is my Nature possibly to be hardened into the latter. Besides, I too well know and more reverence your Majesty's Wisdom and Courage than (had I been that way inclined) to attempt you by either. And I do most earnestly beseech you, Sir, be assured I never went disguisedly forward with you in all my Life, nor could I ever yet so far value any thing as to prostitute Modesty for it.

And therefore, considering nothing can more comfort me, or be more for my Advantage, than to be rightly understood by your Majesty, I do most humbly acknowledge your Favour in admitting my Attendance at Court for a few Days in my Passage for *Ireland*, where I shall not only set my own Thoughts again at ease and liberty, but withal settle some of your Business, which otherwise, myself at *Dublin*, may not chance to find any other Solicitor that

can

can attend upon them, undistracted by other your Majesty's Affairs.

In the Business of *Galloway*, I have fully imparted my Sense to Mr. Secretary *Coke*, from which I find no Reason to depart in any Circumstance. Howbeit, I hear my Lord of *Holland*, forth of his Lordship's tender Regard for the Peace of that Kingdom, apprehends, that my Severity may disaffect that People, and dispose them to call the *Irish* Regiments forth of *Flanders* to their Assistance.

The best of his Lordship's Insight in those Particulars is, as I conceive, through the Suggestions and Problems of my Lord *St. Albans*, Mr. *d'Arcy*, and Sir *Piers Crosby*, Persons promoting either their own Interests or Passions, and had they obtained Belief with your Majesty's Ministers on the other Side, we must neither have planted, nor yet found your Majesty's Title in *Connaught*.

All the Answer I can give, is, that if taking of an Half-move that Country to enter into open Rebellion, the taking of a Third, or a Fourth, methinks, should hardly secure the Crown of their Allegiance. Then be it granted, that they are thus unsound and rotten at the Heart, Wisdom adviseth so to weaken them, and line them thoroughly with *English* and Protestants, as that they shall not (by the Help of God) be able to disquiet any thing, if they would. Besides, if Sir *Piers Crosby*, according to his Undertaking, persuade those Regiments into the Pay of the *French*, that Door will be shut upon them likewise. So as in good Faith every Way I judge all most safe, it neither being in their Power to hurt, or in their Purpose, I persuade myself,
to

to betake themselves to any such desperate Counsels.

I forgot in my last, humbly to offer my Opinion, that in case your Majesty find, or apprehend any Backwardness in the South, it were good the next Year's Writs for the Shipping-Assessment were hastened first down into these Parts, where they are sure to find no Opposition, or Unwillingness, which Example may rather further than hinder in the right Way, which others ought to follow elsewhere. God long preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most faithful,

Wentworth, and most humble Subject and Servant,
Sept. 10 1636.

WENTWORTH.

LETTER XLIV.

Lord Conway to Lord Wentworth.

My Lord,

IF you have no Desire to know the little Business of the Court, read no more than this fair Warning and my Subscription.

My Lady of *Carnarvon*, being well in the Favour and Belief of her Father and Husband, came with her Husband to the Court, and it was determined she should have been all this Year at *London*, her Lodgings in the *Cockpit*; but my Lord *Wentworth* hath been at Court, and in the Queen's Withdrawing-room was a constant Looker upon my Lady, as if that only were his Business; for which Cause, as it is thought,
my

my Lord of *Carnarvon* went home, and my Lord Chamberlain preached often of Honour and Truth; one of the Sermons, I and my Lady *Killegrew*, or my Lady *Stafford*, which you please, were at; it lasted from the Beginning to the End of Supper, the Text was, that it was better for a Woman to be thought honest and be a Whore, than to be honest and thought not. When Supper was ended, and we were where we durst speak, my Lady *Killegrew* swore by G—d, that my Lord Chamberlain meant not any body but her and my Lord of *Dorset*: but my Lady *Carnarvon* is sent down to her Husband, and the Night before she went was with her Father in his Chamber till past Twelve, he chiding and she weeping, and when she will return no Man knows; if it be not till her Face do secure their Jealousy, she had as good stay for ever. Some think, that my Lord *Wentworth* did this rather to do a Despight to her Father and Husband, than for any great Love to her. The Duke of *Lenox*, as it is written in *Scotch*, or *Lenos*, as he writes, that it may the more gently terminate in *Spanish*, shall marry the Lady *Herbert*; but the Queen is not willing she should be of the Bedchamber, into which Place her Mother the Dutchess brought her one Day, and the Queen said, she looked her out.

It was thought, that the Lord *Cottington* should have married my Lady *Stanhope*; I believe there were Intentions in him, but the Lady is, as they say, in love with *Carey Raleigh*. You were so often with Sir *Anthony Vandike*, that you could not but know his Gallantries for the Love of that Lady; but he is come off with a *Coglioneria*,
for

for he disputed with her about the Price of her Picture, and sent her word, that if she would not give the Price he demanded, he would sell it to another that would give more. This Week every one will be at *London*; the Queen is very weary of *Hampton-Court*, and will be brought to Bed at *St. James's*; then my Lady of *Carlisle* will be a constant Courtier; her Dog hath lately written a Sonnet in her Praise, which *Harry Percy* burnt, or you had now had it; but he shall new write it. I shall ever be

Your most humble

Sion, January 22d,
1636.

and faithful Servant,

CONWAY and KILULTA.

LETTER XLV.

Lord Wentworth to Archbishop Laude.

May it please your Grace,

NO sooner am I got home, but the Gout hath laid fast hold on me, yet gives me leave to think the more, as it renders me able to do the less; and in taking the View of my Buildings, as I came along, they put me in mind of some things, which have run in my Thoughts ever since, so as I shall crave your Leave to count them over with your Grace. And as I shall deal most ingenuously with you as my ghostly Father, so do I beseech and promise unto myself your Advice and Counsel.

I have good Advertisement that some, who sure find I serve the Crown too intirely for their Purpose,

Purpose, do yet endeavour to persuade his Majesty, that I serve myself too well in this Place, so to bring me into Suspicion with my Master, and thorough that open a Way to my Prejudice.

To evince this Belief from his Majesty, they fetch their Calumnies on every Side.

Their first Charge is, that I have two or three and twenty thousand Pounds a Year coming in. And should it be forty, were I to be condemned for that, more than themselves, that comparatively have forty times as much as other Men, that for any thing I know, may deserve as much better than they, as they themselves deserve better than I? It is very true, I have, under the Blessing of Almighty God, and the Protection of his Majesty, six thousand Pounds a Year good Land, which I brought with me into his Service; I have a Share for a short Term in these Customs, which, whilst his Majesty's Revenue is there increased more than twenty thousand Pounds by Year, proves nevertheless a greater Profit to me than ever I dreamt of. Besides, I have nothing but those gracious Entertainments, which others before had, and those which succeed me must have, saving only that my Troop consists of a hundred Horse, where theirs were but forty. Yet let them take this Truth along, my Hundred hath stood me in gathering, furnishing, and maintaining, some Thousands more, than ever I must see again forth of his Majesty's Pay; where other former Deputies have known how, out of the Pay of their forty, to clear into their own Purse above five hundred Pounds yearly; nor is this a Riddle, lest it be I will expound it: they kept

kept in their Stable half a Dozen Hackneys; I a hundred Horfe, in every Refpect able and fitted for his Majesty's Service.

Next they fay, I build up to the Sky. I acknowledge that were myself only confidered in what I build, it were not only to Excefs, but even to Folly, having already Houfes moderate for my Condition in *Yorkshire*: but his Majesty will juftify me, that at my laft being in *England*, I acquainted him with a Purpose I had to build him a Houfe at the *Naas*, it being uncomely his Majesty fhould not have one here of his own, capable to lodge him with moderate Conveniency (which in truth as yet he hath not) in cafe he might be pleafed fometimes hereafter to look upon this Kingdom; and that it was neceffary in a manner for the Dignity of this Place, and the Health of his Deputy and Family, that there fhould be one removing Houfe of frefh Air, for want where of I affure your Lordship, I have felt no fmall Inconvenience, fince my coming hither; that when it was built, if like d by his Majesty, it fhould be his, paying me as it coft; if difliked, *a fuo damno*, I was content to keep it, and fmart for my Folly. His Majesty feemed to be pleafed with all, whereupon I proceeded, and have in a manner finifhed it, and fo contrived it for the Rooms of State and other Accomodations which I have obferved in his Majesty's Houfes, as I had been indeed ftark mad, ever to have caft it fo for a private Family. Another Frame of Wood I have given Order to fet up in a Park I have in the County of *Wickloe*. And gnafh the Tooth of thefe Gallants never fo hard, I will by God's Leave go on with it, that fo
I may

I may have a Place to take my Recreation for a Month or two in a Year, were it for no other Reason than to displease them, by keeping myself, if so please God, a little longer in Health.

Yet lest these magnificent Structures might be thought those of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the plain Truth is, that at the *Naas* with the most may stand in six thousand Pounds, that in the Park at twelve hundred; saith, at worst methinks, they should not judge it very much for a Person of my great *Hazienda* to cast away twelve hundred Pounds upon his own Fancy; and yet to profess a Truth to your Grace, but that I did consider his Majesty might judge it hereafter for his Service to visit this Kingdom, in that Case foresaw no Part able to give him the Pleasure of his Summer Hunting like that Park and Country adjacent; and lastly, that then at least I would provide a Lodge, that might house him dry from the Injuries of the Weather, I protest there had not been one Timber of it fastened to another. In the mean time my Confidence is my Comfort, that if I be made so happy as to see his Majesty on this Side, he will give me Thanks for them both, and then am I at the Height of my Ambition, and these my Well-wishers fairly bounded upon the very Place to accuse me, if any thing they have to say unto me.

The third is, that I purchase all before me. In truth they are mistaken, I have not yet *quantum milvus oberret*: confess all I will to your Grace, indeed give them no Account at all; I have as much Land here in *Ireland*, as
stands

stands me in twelve or thirteen thousand Pounds, I trust in time to make it worth me a thousand Pounds a Year, but as yet it is well short; but to put Water in my Wine, in the Word of Honesty and Truth, I owe at least seven thousand Pounds more than I did when I came into *Ireland*. Yet I must needs say they have some Colour to fasten this Slander upon me; for I understanding by my Lady of *Carlisle*, when I was last in *England*, that her Ladyship would be unwilling to part with the Impost upon Wines, unless I would endeavour otherways to bestow the Money to raise a present equal Revenue to support her Charge, and being desirous to fetch this Grant back to the Crown, as also to serve her Ladyship, I promised to do the best I could, and have since in both these Respects used all Diligence to inquire and find where I might place her Ladyship's Money to most Advantage. This Pursuit hath raised one great Dust about me. The other is, that the Contract made for my Lord of *Carlisle*'s Interest in the *Birnes*, is believed here to be for me, but in truth (I dare impart it to your Grace) his Majesty full well knows it is for himself: it is to cost fifteen thousand Pounds, and I do not doubt to make it in present into the *Exchequer* five and twenty hundred Pounds a Year, and will be double as much after the Leases we shall now make be expired. The Bargain is worth twenty thousand Pounds, now let them set beside me first one of themselves, that hath turned from himself to the Advantage of the Crown, a Bargain of so mighty a Profit, which honourably and justly he might have brought to the Help of his

his own private Fortune, as I might have done this, and then at after, let them burthen me with my Greediness of purchasing. In the mean Space, let them for Shame hold their Tongues, however the Malignity of their Eye pursue me still, I am content; if I grow not the richer, I trust to grow the better, living thus under their Discipline.

The fourth is, that I grow monstrous rich. Have I in the least falsified or neglected the Trusts of my most gracious Master? Have I corruptly or oppressively taken from his People? Have I been a Burthen to his Coffers more than for those his princely Entertainments which others have before had, and others must again have after me in these Places? Have I lived meanly, below that which I owe to the Honour of his Majesty, and Dignity of the Place I exercise? If so, let them shew wherein, I defy them every Mother's Son. Howbeit I am none of those insolent Servants neither, that shall strictly call upon myself my Master's Justice, without any Grain of his Favour; to him with all Reverence and Humility I seek for his Remission, his Compassion of all my Defects, all my Infirmities, in the Pursuit, in the fulfilling of his good Pleasures, the rather in regard of the Uprightness however of my Heart to his Person, to his Affairs. But I will break to Fitters, die, before I take from any so affected towards me a better Being, nay indeed any Being at all.

Well then, thus I am become rich, able, I hope, in some reasonable Time, (I praise God and his Majesty) to pay every Man his own. Was I not in some measure so before I had the Honour

Honour to serve his Majesty? Or shall that be a Crime in me, which they so heartily desire themselves, nay perchance in their grudging Souls, lay it already as a great and grievous Fault upon his Majesty, that he hath not made them so likewise? Or can it be other than pleasing to any gracious, noble, or generous Master, that his honest and faithful Servant grows rich under him? I confess I am so great a Lover myself to have my Servants thrive, as I believe all others like minded; and yet not to make it more than there is Cause, I vow to you in all truth, that to the best of my Understanding, I am not thirteen thousand Pounds bettered in my Estate since I first received my Master's Pay, being now become near nine Years; which considering six thousand Pounds a Year good Land I brought along with me, is, in my weak Opinion, no prodigious Getting, or convincing Argument of my Covetousness. Yet is it such as I am fully contented withal, it is sufficient, and I acknowledge from my very Soul to have received more of his Majesty than I shall ever be able to deserve. Howbeit, there are some of them perchance, that open their Mouths thus wide, raise this hideous Cry after me, that in Proportion, have received forty times as much forth of his immediate Coffers as ever I did; and yet, let it be spoken with Modesty, because I believe it Truth, I have done, (without Charge to the King more than my Ordinary) the Crown forty times as much Service, whether you look upon my Labour, Expence and Hazard, or the Profit, the Weight, and Difficulty of the Services themselves.

Lastly,

Lastly, there is one Mr. Barre, a *Scotishman* by Nation, whose Person your Grace once saw before you at the Committee for *Irish Affairs*, at my last being in *England*. This Gentleman that pretends to be a Merchant, but indeed is scarce so good as a petty Chapman, hath procured a special Licence, under the Signet and Signature Royal, of going and coming over without my Comptroll, under which he magnifies himself extreamly, as exempt, if not above, any Power of mine; and thus leaping like a Jackanapes betwixt two Stools, holds on this Side very inward Intelligence with some here which wish me ill, blown up by them, boldly to calumniate me there, whilst they know my Actions here over well, ever to dare to appear in my contrary. Then on that Side he procures, by some very near his Majesty, Access to the King, there whispering continually something or another to my Prejudice; boasts familiarly, how freely he speaks with his Majesty, what he saith concerning me, *and now'ant please your Majesty ea werde mare anent your Debuty of Yrland*, with many such like Botadoes stuffed with a mighty deal of Untruths and Follies amongst. Far be the Insolency from me in any Case to measure out for my Master, with whom, or what to speak, I more revere his Wisdom, better understand myself; besides, the more of Truth he inquires and hears of me, I am most assured the more it must be to my Advantage: but to have such a broken Pedlar, a Man of no Credit or Parts to be brought to the King, and countenanced by some (that have Cause to wish me well, however I have reason to believe I shall not find it so) only to fill his Majesty's
Ears

Ears with Untruths concerning me, and that the whilst his foul Mouth should not either be closed, or else publicly brought to justify what he informs, and so the one of us to public Punishment; to have such a Companion famed as sent Comptrol and Superintendant over me, I must confess, as in regard to myself it moves me not much, yet as the King's Deputy, it grieves and disdains me exceedingly. Alas! if his Majesty have any Suspicion I am not to his Service as I ought, let there be Commissaries of Honour and Wisdom set upon me, let them publicly examine all I have done, let me be heard, and after covered with Shame, if I have deserved it. This is gracious, I accept it, magnify his Majesty for his Justice, but let not the Deputy be profaned in my Person, under the Administration of such a petty Fellow as this, unto whom, believe me, very few that know him will lend five Pounds, being as needy in his Fortune as shifting in his Habitation, and that for none of his good Qualities neither.

Now have I unfolded all which lyes upon my Stomach, but how to digest it, how to turn it to good Nourishment, to my Health, there is the Difficulty; the Humour which offends me is not so much Anger as Scorn, and Desire to wrest out from amongst them my Charge; for, as they say, if I might come to fight for my Life, it would never trouble me, indeed I should then weigh them all very light, and be safe under the Goodness, Wisdom, and Justice of my Master. Again, howbeit I am resolved of the Truth of all this, yet to accuse myself is very uncomely, I love not

to put on my Armour before there be Cause, in regard I never do so, but I find myself the wearier and sorer for it the next Morning.

Therefore altogether to seek in myself what to do, I have here opened my Grief, and do most humbly beseech of your Advice and Counsel, what were best to be done by

Your Grace's

*Dublin, this 27th of
September, 1637.*

most humbly to be commanded,

WENTWORTH,

LETTER XLVI.

Lord Wentworth to Secretary Windebank,

S I R,

THIS will be an Answer to all your Letters now with me, saving one concerning the Earl of *St. Albans*, and for that I crave your Patience till the next Packet, in regard that Business being very prejudicial to the King, in Consequence requires to be thoroughly considered, and imports me to understand before that Grant pass, whether his Majesty intends his Lordship a Bounty of Lands in Value at least thirty thousand Pounds, which otherwise in all Justice and Honour the Crown will be intitled unto; besides, in good faith there is so much presently to be done, as burdens me exceedingly, as well in my Thoughts as otherwise.

The

The first is a Signet Letter of the 26th of January, attested by you, and received by me the 2d of this present. Hereby I am appointed to cause a Pardon to be passed to *Robert Smith*, of a Sentence given against him in the *Castle-Chamber* here, and in especial to remit his Fine of a thousand Marks. Before I come to the Particular, I cannot choose but in the general bemoan myself, that am forced to respite the Performance of so many Directions sent me under your Hand, seeming thereby to presume further than becomes a Servant, that am in my own Disposition with nothing more pleased, than without any Reply readily to fulfil his Majesty's Commands. For which nevertheless I must chiefly blame my Negligence, that have not hitherto sent you hence a Copy of his Majesty's Orders settled at my first coming to this Government, which hereby now I do, beseeching you upon all Occasions humbly to mind his Majesty of them, and to admit me from this Particular to say thus much in the general, That besides the Quiet, they will procure us all, those Orders sort so well with the Constitution of this State, that most necessary it is they be observed, otherwise assuredly these Affairs will suddenly fall backward further than they are now advanced. And so this Consideration I trust will be a Means that fewer Letters in Breach of those Orders shall proceed from thence than of late hath been done, his Majesty's Affairs go on in a constant steady Course, without Distraction, and my Stay of such Letters be avoided, which have procured me extreme much Ill-will from the Parties interested in such a manner as I

fee for me, *omnia secundum litem fieri*. Indeed it is over hard I should be put to give all the Negatives single and alone. I shall willingly take my Share, but too much is too much.

Now to give you an Account of this Particular, which I dare not give way to, *Rege inconsulto*, before my Objections heard against it.

The Offence this Gentleman was convinced of was a most abominable and malicious Conspiracy to ravish Sir *Arthur Blundell* of his Estate, Life, and good Name, aggravated with this Circumstance, that Mr. *Smith* then served as Lieutenant, where Sir *Arthur Blundell* commanded him as his Captain; the Proof pregnant; and if it should after all this pass with Impunity, the Sentences of that Court would become *bruta fulmina*, nor should I know the Innocency, that were with Reason to promise itself Security. The Fine, being long since reduced to a moderate Sum and estreated, cannot without much Trouble be now returned. Besides, that Court makes part of the Estimate in the Establishment, not to be transferred to any other Hand without Breach of the Establishment, and now become a considerable Part of the casual Revenue, like to improve daily, which will quickly be brought, as formerly, to little or nothing, in case any be admitted to make Suits for those Fines.

Such Favour granted to Delinquents is commonly scandalous to public Justice, Discouragements to the Judges that gave the Sentence, and the Court thereby becomes despised, which, as it is now, may be well looked upon as one great Weapon in the Hand
of

of the King, whereby to contain this People within Bounds of Sobriety and Duty.

Lastly, this Letter requires met to pass Mr. *Smith's* Pardon of any other thing decreed by the same Sentence against him, which how it may be enlarged to take away even the Damages and Costs given to Sir *Arthur Blundell*, I know not; and that, in truth I humbly conceive, Sir *Arthur* not first consenting, cannot be done without apparent Injustice.

In Sum, as I should never have advised, *rebus sic stantibus*, to hearken unto a Suit thus conditioned in any Man's Case, so now I trust to be pardoned the staying of it till I have his Majesty's second Pleasure signified therein, which I wish may be to let the Business rest when it is well, for all, saving the remitting unto Mr. *Smith* his Bonds of good Behaviour, which, I conceive, if so it please his Majesty, may be granted the Gentleman without any public Inconvenience.

In Conclusion, I do most humbly beseech his Majesty might be pleased to command, that excellent Provision settled by his own Orders might be strictly observed on all Sides, that no Suits be absolutely granted there, till the Deputy and Ministers here be commanded humbly to certify what they shall in their Judgments find fit to be understood there for his Majesty's Service.

By this means, if the Suit be not fit, his Majesty being thereof advertised, may put the Negative off himself upon us, which in those Cases are most willing to take it unto ourselves; if it may be fully granted, we shall be sure, so certified, so to remit it to his Majesty,

jeſty, as he may intirely derive the Grace and Thanks of his own Bounty and Goodneſs on himſelf, and we here freed from all ſeeming Diſobedience or queſtioning his Maſteſty's Will. Acknowledging myſelf ſo much delighted to do every thing, when and as the King appoints me, that in truth I never ſtop the preſent Execution of what his Letters require, but with Offence to that perfect Attention and Obedience I muſt preſerve for my great Maſter in all the Actions and Periods of my Life.

The ſecond Signet Letter of the 8th of *February*, mentions only Mr. *Peter Harrison*, a Student in this College, for ſome Preferment to be given him in the way of his Profeſſion. This I will not fail to have a ſpecial Care of, ſo as he ſhall ſpeedily, I truſt, gather the Fruits of his Maſteſty's gracious Recommendations.

The third Signet Letter ſigned by his Maſteſty, atteſted by you, is of the 11th of *February*, and requires me to confer the late Lord *Kirkudbright's* Troop of Horſe upon the Earl of *Deſmond*.

His Maſteſty may command all that ever I have, and break my Sleep very ſmall, it being accuſtomed with me ſo intirely to attend his Maſteſty's Service, as I am verily perſuaded, few Men in the World think on or conſider their own private ſo little. Beſides, it is in my Fate to find few that are pleaſed to remember or mention juſt and equal Things, which might perſuade for me; yet feel many Hands injuriouſly tearing from me not only the Rights of my Place, my innocent and peaceable Converſation, the Candor of my
good

good Repute amongst Men (all this under the Sun and with Impunity) but even the Capacity also of serving here with that Advantage to the Crown I otherwise might.

Should those great Offices incident to the Disposal of a Lord Keeper, a Lord Treasurer, a Lord Chamberlain, a Lord Marshal, a Lord Admiral, a Master of the Horse, a Captain of the Guard, &c. become the Suit of every young Courtier, those noble Persons would quickly in their own Case find themselves aggrieved; and yet some of them perchance (by what Rule of Justice I know not) shall move, press, and importune the whilst that the like Liberty may not be afforded unto me, that they respectively challenge and enjoy themselves. As if I were the only Servant of my Master unworthy to have the Dues of my Place, howbeit an Employment verily they would think a great Prejudice to have put upon them in any sort with all the great Advantages belonging unto it. Yet is the Difference very great; for with all these (except the Lord Admiral) the Inability of those subordinate Ministers may be supplied by a Deputy, however himself only like to answer, the Giver no ways liable for the Transgression. But in these Cases, the Duties of the Captains are not to be done by Proxy, their Ability or Weakness may be unto a General the Loss of the Cause, his Life, and Honour; nay, insensibly wrest forth of the Thoughts of the inferior Officers and Soldiers all Respect and Obedience, and so the very Soul of all Action cast into a dead Sleep. Nor indeed can it with Reason be expected or hoped for other-

wife; but where the Power of Punishment and Reward is intrusted with those Persons who are chief in Command.

If I were guilty to have executed this Power greedily to my own Lucre, not to have therein intended the Good of the Army above all other Respects, to have thought of advantaging myself one Groat in the Disposal of the late four new raised Troops of Horse, there were something inwardly might quiet me, tell me, I were rightly served; if the Army were not, I speak it with Confidence and Truth, in all respects infinitely more fit for Service than as I found it, there were something outwardly might tell me, the Privilege were justly denied that I had negligently abused.

If the Liberty had not, as I humbly conceive, at first been granted unto me, were not his Majesty's Orders for me, and they such as, being observed, have brought the greatest Prosperity upon these Affairs that hath been since the *English* Conquest, I should conceive Reason might well advise to try some other Way in the moulding and bowing this State more to his Majesty's Advantage.

If my poor Endeavours had taken less Effect, if I had lived in a Condition below other Deputies before me, or the Dignity of this Government ever of more Regard with me than my own Quiet or Benefit, it were but just, that not only the Power to gratify worthy and fit Persons for the Service of the Crown, but even the Entertainments and Profits themselves were taken from me, which others had the Happiness not only to enjoy, but to have their Labours rewarded besides;
my

my Lord *Ghichester* with Land at one Gift-worth at this Day ten thousand Pounds a Year; the Lord *Falkland* ten thousand Pounds in Money at once: however, I never coveted more than the inherent Rights and Honours belonging to the Place, and yet I modestly persuade myself my Pains have been equal, my Expence far beyond either of them, and his Majesty's Revenue advanced in my short Time ten times as much as in both theirs.

Here, my good Friends, according their Custom shall presently set up the Height of my Assumptions, that, I praise God, know full well, I have Thoughts of far more Meekness, tempered with a more perfect Submission and Reverence to my Master's good Pleasure and Wisdom than themselves. Only I profess it is not possible in my Nature, whilst I invade, injure no Man, to suffer myself with Quietness to be diminished in the Honour of the Commands intrusted with me, and that by the subtil Insinuation of such, I fear, as I have no Reason to believe well affected to me. I esteem it were in me to betray these Affairs, should I not by all means possible avoid the bringing of young and unexperienced Persons to be Captains in this Army in a Time thus conditioned; or, which is far less, neglecting the just Care I owe my own Family, to venture my Honour or my Life with I know not whom. My Life shall be as freely laid down for my gracious Master as any that lives, yet I am not weary of it neither, should be very unwilling to die like a Fool, or, to deal clearly, desirous to fight but in the Company of such as understand their Profession, such

as I should in some measure take to be as Well-wishers to my Person as to the Cause.

And I beseech you, what can I hope for from the tender Years of this young Nobleman? Experience tells me what to fear: I will name no Man to his Prejudice; but I protest, by one Youth, whom his Majesty commanded me to make a Captain here, I have had more Trouble, the King's Payments more Scandal, than from the whole Army besides.

It is a Condition below a Gentleman, to be put to deny all, and not to be allowed to gratify some; very hard to my seeming, that by strictly observing his Majesty's Orders I should procure so many Enemies, and not be admitted to keep them, when I might oblige one Friend, and he a Person in all respects abler to discharge the Duty to the Public. Only I shall crave Leave, that a Tenderness for my own private may not silence me to the public Interest, but that therein my Lines may be read without Prejudice.

It seems then to me, under Favour, as well a high Wisdom as a Degree of Justice in great Princes, to afford unto their Ministers the chaste Honours and Profits of the Charges committed unto them, and that each be contained and sustained within the Limits of their several Employments: and seldom perchance shall we find a King to have been chearfully served, or the Magistrate upheld in Power or Esteem, where this hath been neglected. For Inferiors will grow hard of Belief, that the Superior can be able to procure Right from
 2 them

them that cannot procure it for himself, and presently set them at very small; nothing being more natural than for the People to regard the Magistrate no longer than their own Use inforceth.

Besides, it discourageth a Servant in his own Confidence, seeing himself not allowed the upright Credit and Benefit of his Labour and Watches; but that others must make and obtain Suits of those things, which of Custom and right Reason are assigned to him. Nor is it every Man's Case to serve and suffer his Reward to be given to another; nay, to speak plainly, I protest it is, and hath been long my Opinion, that this excellent Rule of Government laid aside these last forty Years, more than in Reason of State-perchance it ought, hath been one principal Cause the Crown was so leisurely and slackly served, the Magistrates so little looked after in respect of the Times of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, and, in fine, the Affairs withal in such Distractions as now we find them; it being in the generality certain, that if Kings desire to be thoroughly and uprightly served, they must be graciously pleased their Servants have at least the Accomodations and Profits belonging their Places. Nor can I in any Time, much less in this, promise myself any Ability to execute the Commands of his Majesty, unless the Power not only of punishing, but of rewarding fit Persons also with such Places as belong the Deputy, be left unto me; to the End that, as I displease many, I may at least engage some few to undergo with me the Hazards of all Events, bring up others in
hope

hope of Preferment, desirously and attentively to execute what I shall direct for the Good of the Service.

The Condition his Majesty disposeth this Troop with, *viz.* that his Lordship shall reside upon his Charge, is very just, and conform his Majesty's own Rule. But wherein will his Lordship's Presence advantage, utterly unknowing what to command, or setting his personal Courage aside, how to acquit himself to any one Duty belonging his Charge? Besides, I am humbly of Opinion, his coming over will be but formal, and that after a Summer's Stay here at the most, his Lordship will desire Licence to return for three or four Months, when upon the Place he shall by his Friends obtain for altogether his Majesty's Dispensation for his Attendance here, and so take the Entertainment, and leave the Business for his Lieutenant to look to at his own Adventure; as if those Commands were provided rather to be dealt forth as Childrens Portions, than exacting any further Attendance or Duty. And to say Truth, what Comfort of Life can that Place afford, where no body shall know his Lordship, nor he any thing? So as the Day this proves otherwise, I have taken a Note to put it out of my Almanack.

And lastly, I am sorry that the just Regard I owe to these Affairs, the ill Consequence such an Example, I foresee, would bring upon me, and the Desire I have to leave this Place intire to him that shall succeed, should enforce me to say thus much in the contrary of a Nephew of the Duke of *Buckingham*. But I trust, in this Time of Action, his Lordship may be
put

put into some Employment more for his Profit, and more to enable him in that Profession than this will be. When, his Lordship so improved and qualified, I should sure become a more earnest Suitor he might have a Command of this Nature than now I am: That, all things considered, I might, if so pleased his Majesty, be held excused and admitted to dispose of this Troop, which being all *Scotish*, is fit quietly and insensibly to be framed anew, the old laid aside, which is another Trouble which will happen to this Troop, not so handsomely to be shifted by one neither acquainted with the Persons, nor, I fear, skilled how to carry thorough a Business of that Nature.

Thus far I have eased myself with my Secretary's Pen. Your two Letters of the 16th of *February* must be answered with my own Hand: and, once for all, if any the King's Secrets imparted to me happen to be discovered by my Negligence, let me have not only the Shame, but the Punishment I well deserve.

The Inclosed will give you an Account what I received from the Earl of *Antrim*. - His Lordship expresseth, and hath I trust good Affections, with *Naphtali* gives goodly Words, but as yet it seems his Forces are no readier than I formerly advertised.

His Lordship is pleased to desire my Advice, to whom he never imparted himself concerning this Action in all his Life, that know not any Part of his Design: which makes me think, his Lordship is pleased either to be merry with me, or covets to draw me blind-fold.

fold into his-Business; so, according to Occasion either to take the Glory of the good Success to himself, or cast the ill upon me, who neither envy him the one, nor shall willingly undergo the other for him.

His Lordship writes, "He is not able to give Account of his Forces, but Instructions received he will not fail to do it." In Sadness, I think, that, considering what follows, he may well under favour be saved the Labour, as not being worth the accounting of: especially when we find it confessed, that Captains to lead them are still to seek, that Ammunition and Arms his Lordship hath not any in all his Country.

As for his Provision of Boards, I should rather have coveted a Provision of Shipping for their Transportation, than to have thought of swimming them over, little better than on Boards, indeed as if they were rather newly escaped from Shipwreck, than going onan Invasion.

Powder and Shot his Lordship may have to train his Men, paying for it the usual Rate, and I am persuaded that whilst his Majesty, and that with all Reason, causeth the Trained-bands in *England* to give Money for the Powder spent in exercising, it is not his Mind my Lord here should have it for nothing.

We have with much ado got Money to furnish these Stores with eight thousand Arms for the Defence of this Kingdom in so doubtful a Time, and at one Clap his Lordship demands six thousand of them of free Cost. If granted, where is the Money to furnish ourselves

felves with new ones, and in what Condition shall we be without them?

His Lordship saith, I shall see his chief End is for his Majesty's Service. I believe well still, but that cannot appear neither till he be besides supplied with all Necessaries: what those are his Lordship means, God knows; but sure I am, his Lordship, that in the Beginning expects the Arms should be given, shall much more expect Pay or Victual, which under another Name is the same thing, for his Men in the Conclusion. And then I beseech you, where is either the Saving or Advantage of the Crown? For, *posito* his Majesty is to be at the Charge himself of levying six thousand Men, and assign us Money for them, sure we his Ministers on the Place shall effect the Service in another Manner than his Lordship (with his Cousin *Neale*, he mentions, to help) shall ever be able to do.

Above all, I am astonished with his Lordship's Purpose of putting these Men under the Command of Colonel *Neale*, understood to be in his Heart and Affections a Traytor, bred no other, Egg and Bird as they say. And, I beseech you, imagine what a comfortable Prospect it would be for all us *English* here, to see six thousand Men armed with our own Weapons, ourselves by that means turned naked, led by that Colonel, under the Command of *Tyrone's* Grandchild, the Son of old *Randy Mac Donnell*, in the same Country, formerly the very Heart and Strength of those mighty long lasting Rebellions? Indeed for myself, I will put his Lordship's conditional Pro-

Proposition into an absolute Conclusion, I shall never think of the Colonel more; nay, since his Lordship desires it, advise his Lordship also to resolve of the same himself.

In a few Words, I shall crave Leave plainly to discharge my Duty to this Particular. His Lordship's Affections I question not, there are those about his Majesty to whom they are better known than they can be unto me. But I am humbly of Opinion, his Lordship of himself alone is not able to perform any thing of Note against the Earl of *Argyle*, whether you look into his Lordship's Purse, or his Conduct, that any Attempt he can make will be so mean and weak as shall rather discourage, dishonour, than advantage the King's Party. For what Possibility is there for his Lordship to sustain the Charge of so many Men, that having but six thousand Pounds Lands by Year, is fifty thousand Pounds in Debt, more as the Rate now goes there, than all his Lands would give him, were they to be sold? So as if his Majesty conceive it conducing to his Affairs to make a Diversion hence upon the Earl of *Argyle* in his own Country, the Action must be carried in his Majesty's own Name, by his own Soldiers, guided by some fitting Persons to be chosen forth of this Army, taking along with them such Assistance, Correspondence, and Intelligence, as the Earl of *Antrim* may contribute unto them upon the Place. Thus, if you will be at the Charge of six thousand Men, and appoint us where we shall have the Money to defray them, I will trust the Service may be effected to Purpose, and his
Ma.

Majesty's Contentment. Whereas in this odd Way, nothing can, in all Probability come of it. Nor can I advise the Arms in the mean Space should be put in any other Hand than where they are already.

In my poor Judgment those in *Scotland* are got so far already, as they find (the Leaders I mean) in their own Hearts, that which tells them they have exceeded, gone beyond all Terms of Reconciliation, and therefore the uttermost of their Force for their own Preservation is to be looked for from them; and accordingly it behoves not only all us Servants, but even the King himself, by all means possible to hasten the Army into the Field; and, on such an urgent Occasion, far more needful to do than seemingly talk much.

That *Newcastle* is secured is passing well. I imagine all is done therein, that can be; yet let me tell you, the Situation of it is such, as, I fear, is not possible to be made any otherways strong, than by lodging an Army near it. And for that Purpose, certainly it is of more Commodity than any other in all that Part of the Kingdom. But I still earnestly long to hear that *Berwick* and *Carlisle* are secured by strong and great Garrisons; that Work once done, I confess a great Part of my Fears will be over, and till then I must expect very small Quiet. And so much for your first of that Date.

Your second mentions, that his Majesty finds them in *England* very chearful in their Supplies, and God forbid it should be otherwise, for so they became not only the worst of Subjects, but the unwisest of Men also.

In

In the Name of God, let his Majesty's Wisdom speedily and substantially dispose his Affairs to the best, and then put his Cause confidently upon his *English* Subject. It is not possible but they will acquit themselves nobly towards his Trust, cheerfully and obediently to his Commands, as a worthy and faithful People ought to do. They that raise and stir Apprehensions, to the contrary, to my seeming, are either fearful above Reason, ignorant, or something that is worse than either.

As for borrowing the Sum his Majesty desireth, I should, I protest by the Almighty, pawn all my Estate to the uttermost Farthing to effect it; but that which is Truth will be heard: I do not believe that to save my Life, I were able to borrow five thousand Pounds amongst all the Merchants of this Town; generally all People here turn their Stock in a Course of Trading, the Number of moneyed Men extreme few, and those altogether take Mortgages of Lands for their Security, will in no sort meddle with any Man's Bond.

Nay, admit we had a hundred thousand Pounds ready, yet under favour were it not in reason of State to be fetched hence; to exchange it over is impossible, would not be done in five Years hardly; and to be carried over in Specie, it would utterly sweep and undo this People, infallibly cause a Stand of Trade, and consequently in a very short Time lose the King more in his Customs than this Money comes to. So as there is no Thought of fetching any Moneys forth of this Kingdom at any time but by Exchange, and that by small Parcels. But the
Means

Means indeed of borrowing Money are nearer you, to wit, in *London*, where it can be no great Matter I should think to take up the Sum you mention. And in that Way if my Credit may be of any Service to his Majesty, let my Name be given, be it for forty times as much as I am worth, and I will be bound with all my Heart.

And so this Dispatch being ready, must wait the turning of the Wind, which, since I received these last of yours, hath been Easterly, and so hath brought in Shipping for the transporting of our Men to *St. Bees*, who shall, God willing, be all put on board the 20th of this Month, for their Number inferior to none, I believe, can be set besides them in *England*. No sooner a Breath of Wind is felt from the West, but these shall be on their Way to let you know how perfectly I am

Your most faithful

humble Servant,

*Dublin, this 2d of
March, 1638.*

W E N T W O R T H

L E T T E R

L E T T E R XLVII.

Lord Wentworth to Secretary Windebank.

S I R,

AFTER my last Letters to you were closed, yet before the Messenger was on Shipboard, a Servant of mine brought me Word, my Lord of *Antrim* was without to speak with me.

Upon Discourse I found this sudden coming was occasioned by his Majesty's Letter, whereof by your Favour I had the Duplicate, and hereby give you the best Account I can of the broken Discourse which passed betwixt us, wherein you will find many Incertainties, small Hopes, and to my poor Judgment some various Readings and Impossibilities.

His Lordship mentioned certain Propositions by his Lordship made, and Directions and Authority by his Majesty, given at his last being in *England*, concerning his Lordship's going upon the Isles of *Scotland*; that in Conformity thereunto he had quietly expected the Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure, nor stirred at all till the Receipt of my Letter, complained of the Suddenness and Shortness of the Warning, but told me, that instantly upon the Receipt of his Majesty Letter, he had sent to the *O Neales*, *O Haras*, the *O Lurgans* (if I mistake not that Name) the *Mac Gennifess*.

Genfifess, the *Mac Guyres*, the *Mac Mahons*, the *Mac Donnells* (as many *Qe's* and *Macs* as would startle a whole Council-board on this Side to hear of) and all his other Friends, requiring them in his Majesty's Name to meet him with their Forces, so as this Business is now become no Secret, but the common Discourse both of his Lordship and the whole Kingdom.

That he had bought Boards, and given Order for making of long Boats for the Transportation of his Men, and was now come to ask my Advice and Counsel.

In Answer, I assured him of all the Assistance I might give in the Execution; but at all to advise, being a mere Stranger to his Design, wholly ignorant of the State of that Country and People, were a great Vanity (in plain Terms) to abuse him and myself.

With this his Lordship moved, said, it had been written over into *England*, that he was not able to perform his Engagements with his Majesty; that if his Majesty appointed it so, he would raise and serve him with twenty thousand Men; seemed to take it in ill Part at those who had so informed, and as I thought did tacitly give to understand he meant me.

This was followed with plentiful Expressions of Zeal to his Majesty's Service, of his Willingness and Ability to fulfil all undertaken by him. But in case I did not advise and counsel him what to do, he would give the Action over, and thank me for thus freeing his Lordship of the Business, protesting to acquaint me with all he knew of the Design.

Thorough

Thorough this I discovered the Mark whereunto all this tended, but not finding so much Charity in myself as to take the Thorn out of his Foot to thrust it into my own, I besought his Lordship, if his Preparations were not so forward, as in order to his Engagements on that Side they ought to have been, or if he found more Difficulty attending such an Action, than at first his Lordship had foreseen, not now to think to put the Failure upon mine Account; that to give me such a Requital, for my Readiness to serve him, were not friendly. However, I should be able to set the Saddle on the right Place, and preserve myself well enough from such an Aspersion, where nothing was to be objected, but my just Desire to be excused from giving Counsel in a Matter which I did not at all understand.

As for imparting unto me his Design, it was not my Custom to covet any Man's Secrets, but I held it high Presumption for me so much as to inquire after those of his Majesty's, nor were it at all to the Purpose for his Lordship to acquaint me therewith, for howbeit as a private Person I should credit all his Lordship related, yet in my public Capacity I could only understand my Master in his own Language, to wit, by his Hand and Seal, and otherwise in these important Matters I gave myself no Latitude at all. That therefore I did desire his Lordship would be pleased to set down in Writing what he expected from his Majesty, and I would procure him a speedy and clear Resolution.

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Nevertheless his Lordship made me a long Discourse of the Isles of *Scotland*, of the Earl of *Argyle*, of his own Pretences to great Inheritance there, of his intended Landing, Fighting and Conquering, but said he could not make War alone, and saw I did not like of the Business, and therefore he should not think of it any further, protesting he would not go on so much as with making the Boats.

I replied, if he had undertaken to make a War alone, it were no Fault of mine; that my Trust was, no equal Person would conceive me to dislike a thing, whereon I gave no Judgment, nay in truth where I neither liked nor disliked at all; that if he thought of it no more, he must answer it himself to the King, and that he could not do less in Honour than make his own Preparations for his Transportation.

Thereupon he expressed how divers of his best Friends in *England* had dissuaded him from the Undertaking, that nevertheless his Lordship, before well aware, had been led on by some others, little thinking the *Scots* would have ever gone to this Extremity; nay, who would have thought it (saith his Lordship)? That he would do his Part to his uttermost, but under eight thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, whereof one hundred for the Guard of his own Person, he would not set a Foot on the Isles.

I told him, that was a great many, and the providing them would be well worth his Lordship's Care, therefore did desire him to express in Writing, what he expected on the King's

King's Part to be done, and by some Messenger of his, or by me (which he pleased) to seek his Majesty's further Pleasure therein.

Whereupon his Lordship undertook presently to put it in Writing, saying, he had no more to ask, but a Commission under the Great Seal, to levy the Men, six thousand Arms, Allowance to cut Wood out of the King's Woods for making the Boats, and then if he did not, forthwith, all the rest according his Offer to his Majesty, nay were it to go into the Isles with twenty thousand Men, if his Majesty so directed, he would be content to be told in *England*, he had said more than he was able to perform.

In good faith I was amazed to see a noble Gentleman, transported out of Zeal (sure) to the Service, so much to miscount himself; which gave me the Curiosity first to be informed, if I might, of the Possibility of such a vast Assumption, which I am persuaded all the Nobility of *England* were not able to comply with two Years together: besides, the Arms provided for the Defence of this Kingdom being not yet arrived, and myself utterly resolved not to give way to the drawing so great a Body of *Irish* together, under the Command of those Septs that now only remain of the *Ulster* Rebels, without full and clear Warrant from his Majesty, it was necessary to gain Time, rather than to discover we were not able to furnish the six thousand Arms so suddenly, or myself in flat Terms deny the Levy, and so furnish a Shift off, and turn the failing on the King's Part; two principal Motives indeed, which caused me
from

from the Beginning to propound this way of putting the Propositions into Writing, and transmitting them over for a final and full Direction thereon.

Hence it was, that at our next Meeting I told his Lordship howbeit I should crave to be excused from giving any Opinion in this Case, or to be so insolent, as to take upon me to lead him by my Counsel, not knowing any thing at all of the Matter, yet considering not only his Reputation, but the Weight of his Majesty's Counsels, the Lives of his Subjects, and Good of his Affairs, might be all deeply concerned in this Action, I shall be bold to offer a few Thoughts of my own, which might at after (as should seem best to himself) by his Wisdom be disposed and mastered for his own Honour, and Advantage of his Majesty's Service.

I desired to know, what Provision of Victual his Lordship had thought of, which for so great a Number of Men would require a great Sum of Money?

His Lordship said, he had not made any at all, in regard he conceived they should find sufficient in the Enemy's Country to sustain them, only his Lordship proposed to transport over with him ten thousand live Cows to furnish them with Milk, which he affirmed had been his Grandfather *Tyrone's* Play.

I told his Lordship, that seemed to me a great Adventure he put himself and Friends upon: for, in case (as was most likely) the Earl of *Argyle* should draw all the Cattle and Corn into Places of Strength, lay the

mainder waste; how would he in so bare a Country feed either his Men, his Horses, or his Cows? And then I besought him to foresee what a Misery and Dishonour it would be for him to engage his Friends, where they were not to fight, but starve.

To that his Lordship replied, they would do well enough, feed their Horses with Leaves of Trees, and themselves with Sham-rocks.

To this I crave Leave to inform his Lordship, I had heard there were no Trees in the Isles; but if Trees, as yet no Leaves, so no such pressing Haste to transport his Army, for that the Season of the Year would give him yet one or two Months Time of Consideration in that respect.

We went on in the Discourse; it was told him, his Lordship had but satisfied the Proposition in Part, I did therefore crave to know what Provision of Victual his Lordship had given Order for, during the Time of these eight thousand Foot and three hundred Horse their Abode on this Side? Since that, in all probability, less than two Months will not be spent in teaching his Soldiers the Use of their Arms, in Shipping his Men, his Ammunition, his Horses, his ten thousand live Cows, and other their Baggage; they were the whilst in a Friend's Country, all true and loyal Subjects to his Majesty, those he might not plunder in any wise: then if he had not Victual to satisfy their hungry Bellies, how were it possible to contain them either from Mutiny or Disbanding? Again, in case the Wind should not serve, but that two or three Months more
run

run up, before the Arms or the Shipping could be brought about to transport him, or say by Misaccident they should be cast away, what Means had his Lordship in Store to pass that Time, until he were supplied of those Necessaries?

To this was answered, his Lordship had not considered of that; nevertheless I humbly advised his Lordship should not altogether lay it forth of Mind, and to cast up what Victual at Sixpence a Day for eight thousand Foot, and at one Shilling and Sixpence for three hundred Horse, might come to for two or three Months, and provide accordingly.

Next I craved to know, when the Men were brought together, what Officers he had chosen to exercise, instruct, and lead them?

His Answer was, not any, only he purposed to have desired me to furnish him with a hundred Serjeants of this Army to drill them: I told his Lordship there were but fourscore in all, and those not Persons capable to be trusted with so great a Charge, as the making and leading such an Army; so as I held it a Thought not unworthy of his Lordship to cast, to furnish himself with fit and experienced Commanders for such Purpose, as also what to allow, and how to pay their Entertainments, considering that the Demands of Men so qualified were often found to be very great. His Lordship said, he did not intend to make a formal War of it, so the less Need of such Persons; besides, that all those Islanders did to adore him, (his very Word) that he, once landed, he was well assured, all would fight for

him, none against him, and that rather than not, he would go upon the Isles with three hundred, with that Number do more than another should do with twenty thousand. I told him, if that were so, it was a very sure Business, nor would there be need of any these great and troublesome Preparations; but my Doubt was, the Earl of *Argyle* would not so easily quit his Possession. My Lord of *Antrim* acknowledged, that Earl indeed had prepared two and twenty long Boats for the Defence of the Country, stopped up in a manner all the Avenues, and raised a Fort lately upon a Neck of Ground, mounted fourteen Pieces of Cannon, it seems, with great Advantage to save the Country, whether the Earl of *Antrim* should make his Approaches lower or higher up into the Land. Only his Lordship said, those People hated the Earl of *Argyle*, and that his Lordship had not in all those Isles above two hundred Pounds of his own Inheritance. Which raiseth a new Doubt with me at least: for the Earl of *Argyle* we know indeed, but those other Proprietors, whether Covenanters or no, is a *non liquet* here, and I am confident it is his Majesty's Purpose not to have this Earl trouble himself with conquering those, that for aught I know may be good Subjects already, though perchance they should possess those Lands, this Lord pretends to have been belonging his Ancestors (methought he said) these thirteen hundred Years.

I made bold also to question what Proportion of Powder, Bullet and Match, what Ordnance, with all sorts of Ammunition, and other necessary Implements, what Shovels, Mat-
tacks,

tocks, Spades, &c. his Lordship had either provided or expected? In all these his Lordship said, he must refer himself to me: wherein I besought his Excuse, as impossible for me to do, that knew nothing of the Nature of the Country or People, nothing of the Occasion, how soon it might end, or how long it might continue, neither what his Intendments might be of fighting Battles, assaulting Places, raising of Forts, putting in Garrisons, Men and Victuals, with a Number of such like Considerations, which not understood, the most exact General of the World could not be able to give any certain Judgment, therefore none could settle upon any thing of this kind but himself, to whom all these Particulars were clear and manifest.

I desired to be informed, whether he had thought of any Place of Landing, of possessing of some Ground of Advantage, intrenching and fortifying himself so, as might at the worst secure his Retreat? Whether his Lordship had consulted with any to that Purpose? what Intelligence he held with those of his Party? For these, he had not thought of any Landing-place in particular, as a thing indifferent, on which of the Isles he landed, whereof he saith there are fourscore; nor were Retreats to be thought on when Men are going on; and as for Intelligence, the Earl of *Argyle* had so stopped all Passages, that little or none of that kind he could procure.

Lastly, I shewed him how necessary it was for us both to discourse of these things, and besought him he would set down his Propositions in Writing as soon as might be, where-

unto I would undertake to return him a speedy and clear Answer. Being gone forth, he told Sir *George Radcliffe*, at first he had not been satisfied with the Manner of my Treaty with him, but now found I was his Friend, and had shewn, that his Lordship had not so well foreseen, and provided all, such a weighty Business did require; expressing covertly, he could be glad to be shut of the Undertaking itself, as above his Fortune to go thorough withal.

Some two Days after his Lordship delivered unto me his Propositions, a Duplicate whereof you have here inclosed; so as now I do expect to be instructed what Answer I shall give, and Warrant for so much as is for me to be done therein.

Only I observe some Particulars which you will find in those Propositions.

His Lordship now reduceth in the first Article his Number to four thousand eight hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse, demands in the sixteenth Article a Loan of twenty thousand Pounds for their three Months Pay; whereas allowing for the Foot Sixpence, and for a Horseman Eighteen-pence a Day, it comes but to twelve thousand one hundred and fifty Pounds, which Overplus of seven thousand eight hundred and fifty Pounds, will largely serve to build his long Boats, pay the Officers, transport his Men, &c. Thus, in present, his Majesty is at the whole Charge; and after the three Months his Lordship in the seventeenth Article clearly and ingenuously expresseth his Meaning to be, that his Majesty should defray all. For my own Part I
know

know as little where this twenty thousand Pounds will be spared (for the Revenue here is not able to do it) as when his Lordship will find that reasonable Time he mentions for Repayment thereof, especially considering what I tacitly writ of the mighty Engagements which lye and press upon his Estate; more, in good faith, I believe than all his Lands, were they presently to be sold, would satisfy.

In the ninth Article, his Lordship asks at once twelve Field-pieces, with all belonging them, howbeit he knows not what Employment there will be for them, and we shall have ten of that sort when they are come, which we expect not till towards *Whitsun-tide*.

The tenth Article requires five hundred long Bows, with twenty-four Arrows, and four Strings to every Bow; doubles the Proverb, which gives you know but two Strings to a Bow, and well too. But the plain Earnest is, that Bows, Arrows, or Strings, there are not any in these Stores.

The eleventh Article is for Wood for his Boats, which howbeit I had not Power to give Warrant to cut down any in the King's Woods, yet I got my Lord of *Derry* to give his Lordship the Liberty to take as much as he had Use of in his Woods, which are in all respects as convenient for him, so that therein his Lordship is accomodated to his Contentment; howbeit methinks they should prove strange Boats that are to be made of green and unseasoned Wood.

The fourteenth Article proposeth an Impossibility, for two Ships and two Pinnaces it requires, where we have only the Swallow, Whelp, and Pinnace. Besides, these three cannot be brought all so soon to the Place he appoints, yet without them (I had almost said nor with them neither) no Service. And the eighteenth Article desires the Command of the said Ships and Pinnaces during the Occasion. My Question is, What shall become of the Coasts the whilst, for Guard whereof these are assigned? Unless other Ships be appointed by my Lord Admiral for that Service, which will be six or seven thousand Pounds more Charge to the Crown. But this I humbly submit to my Lord Admiral, I having nothing to do at all with the Disposition of those Ships; yet if they were, as this Lord would, perchance his Lordship might have no Employment for them: for I remember, now at *Michaelmas*, his Lordship being to come over, no less than all these three would serve for the Transportation of himself and Lady, no Denial, must have the *Swallow* to take him aboard at *Wyerwater*, where never came Ship of threescore Tun and lived, and yet, in Conclusion, made use only of the Pinnace, which before had been offered, as that which I knew was safest and fittest, and so his Majesty put to the vain and wanton Expence, I protest unto you, of near five hundred Pounds.

One other Matter his Lordship proposed to me in Discourse, not in his Paper, and this it was, that for the Defence of his Lordship's Country, himself thus gone upon the Isles, there might be a new Troop of Horse raised for his Brother, and paid by his Majesty.

To

To this my Answer was, his Lands were of this Kingdom, and consequently under my Charge, myself answerable to his Majesty for it, and I would by the Help of God secure that and all the rest, with the Army we had already, without putting the King to so great an Increase of Charge, as the raising a new Troop would be.

In sum, I must needs say, his Lordship shuffles the Pack dexterously enough, if pretending to make a War at his own Cost, he can thus presently and totally shift off the Charge upon the King; deal himself a Generalship at Sea and Land; a Command of the King's Armies, his Ordnance, his Arms, his Stores, his Shipping, make all his own Officers, new Levies as likes him best, and procure a Horse-Troop for his Brother. Old *Ned Croke* would have here said, *God is my Witness these are strange Things to me.* But now all this, for what? Marry, for aught I either hear or can foresee, to enable his Lordship to go upon the Isles there, to recover for himself those great Seigniories belonging unto his Ancestors; and say, all the now Possessors be Covenanters, which yet appears not, and that he do conquer the Country (for not a less Word than Conquest comes from us.) What shall his Majesty, or any other Man, save himself, be the better? Indeed it troubles me to imagine, how his Lordship may think of us all his Majesty's Ministers, whilst he feeds himself with the Hopes to carry out from amongst us his own Ends and Benefits thus in Sovereignty, and under a Colour of doing

to his Quality, howbeit not Chief in Command, till his Lordship had gained more Experience than yet he hath?

And thus I submit all, only I humbly crave Leave to discharge my Duty, so far as to deliver you myself ingenuously in some few Particulars.

I judge the Season so far spent, the Provision of Victuals, Arms, Ordnance and Shipping so far behind, as it will not be possible for my Lord of *Antrim* to do any thing upon that People this Year; that his Lordship will not the next Year, by reason of his Breeding and Experience, be a Person qualified for a Command of that Nature.

That if the Design must go on, it may at least rest till the next Spring, be fully considered on all Hands, and in the mean Space so carried, as neither the Earl of *Antrim* be discouraged, nor yet set at liberty for his Undertakings on that Side, but that such Use be made both of him, and all other Accommodations, as may be found of Advantage for that Service.

This Dispatch had been sooner on the Way, but that I have been so tormented with Toothach, as I hardly found the Patience to do any thing, which I hope will obtain me your Pardon, that rests

Your most faithful

humble Servant,

*Dublin, 20th
March, 1638.*

WENTWORTH.

L E T.

L E T T E R XLVIII.

Lord Wentworth to the Countess of Clare.

May it please your Ladyship.

MY Lord of *Clare* having writ unto me, your Ladyship desired to have my Daughter *Anne* with you for a Time in *England* to recover her Health, I have at last been able to yield so much from my own Comfort, as to send both her and her Sister to wait your grave, wise, and tender Instructions. They are both, I praise God, in good Health, and bring with them hence from me no other Advice, but intirely and chearfully to obey and do all you shall be pleased to command them, so far forth as their Years and Understanding may administer unto them.

I was unwilling to part them, in regard those that must be a Stay one to another, when by Course of Nature I am gone before them, I would not have them grow Strangers whilst I am living; besides the younger gladly imitates the elder, in Disposition so like her blessed Mother, that it pleases me very much to see her Steps followed and observed by the other.

Madam, I must confess, it was not without Difficulty before I could persuade myself thus to be deprived the looking upon them, who with their Brother are the Pledges of all the Comfort, the greatest at least of my old Age,
if

if it shall please God I attain thereunto. But I have been brought up in Afflictions of this kind, so as I still fear to have that taken first, that is dearest unto me; and have in this been content willingly to overcome my own Affections, in order to their Good, acknowledging your Ladyship capable of doing them more good in their Breeding than I am; otherways in truth I should never have parted with them, as I profess it a Grief unto me not to be as well able as any to serve the Memory of that noble Lady in these little harmless Infants.

Well, to God's Blessing and your Ladyship's Goodness I commit them; where-ever they are, my Prayers shall attend them, and have of Sorrow in my Heart till I see them again I must, which I trust will not be long neither; that they shall be acceptable to you, I know it right well, and I believe them so graciously minded to render themselves so the more, the more you see of their Attention to do as you shall be pleased to direct them, which will be of much Contentment unto me; for whatever your Ladyship's Opinion may be of me, I desire, and have given it them in Charge (so far as their tender Years are capable of) to honour and observe your Ladyship above all the Women in the World, as well knowing that in so doing they shall fulfil that Duty, whereby of all others they could have delighted their Mother the most, and do infinitely wish they may want nothing in their Breeding my Power or Cost might procure them; or their Condition of Life hereafter may require: for, Madam, if I die to-morrow, I will

will by God's Help leave them ten thousand Pounds apiece, which I trust by God's Blessing shall bestow them to the Comfort of themselves and Friends, nor at all considerably prejudice their Brother, whose Estate shall never be much burthened by a second Venter I assure you.

I thought fit to send with them one that teacheth them to write; he is a quiet soft Man, but honest, and not given to any Disorder; him I have appointed to account for the Money to be laid forth, wherein he hath no other Direction but to pay and lay forth as your Ladyship shall appoint, and still as he wants, to go to *Woodhouse*, where my Cousin *Rockley* will supply him; and I must humbly beseech you to give Order to their Servants, and otherwise to the Taylors at *London*, for their Apparel, which I wholly submit to your Ladyship's better Judgment, and be it what it may be, I shall think it all happily bestowed, so as it be to your Contentment and theirs; for Cost I reckon not of, and any thing I have is theirs so long as I live, which is only worth Thanks, for theirs and their Brothers all I have must be whether I will or no, and therefore I desire to let them have to acknowledge me for before.

Nan, they tell me, danceth prettily, which I wish (if with Convenience it might be) were not lost, more to give her a comely Grace in the Carriage of her Body, than that I wish they should much delight or practise it when they are Women. *Arabella* is a small Practitioner that way also, and they are both very
apt

apt to learn that or any thing they are taught.

Nan, I think, speaks *French* prettily, which yet I might have been better able to judge had her Mother lived; the other also speaks, but her Maid being of *Guernsey*, the Accent is not good; but your Ladyship is in this excellent, as that, as indeed all things else which may besit them, they may, and I hope will learn better with your Ladyship than they can with their poor Father, ignorant in what belongs Women, and otherways, God knows, distracted; and so awanting unto them in all, saving in loving them, and therein, in truth, I shall never be less than the dearest Parent in the World.

Their Brother is just now sitting at my Elbow, in good Health, God be praised; and I am in the best sort I may accomodating this Place for him, which in the kind I take to be the noblest one of them in the King's Dominions, and where a Grasse-time may be passed with most Pleasure of that Kind; I will build him a good House, and by God's Help leave him, I think, near three thousand Pounds a Year, and Wood on the Ground as much, I dare say, if near *London*, as would yield fifty thousand Pounds, besides a House within twelve Miles of *Dublin*, the best in *Ireland*, and Land to it, which, I hope, will be two thousand Pounds a Year; all which he shall have to the rest, had I twenty Brothers of his to set besides me. This I write not to your Ladyship in Vanity, or to have it spoken of, but privately to let your Ladyship see, I do not forget the Children of my
dearest

dearest Wife, nor altogether bestow my Time fruitlessly for them: it is true, I am in Debt, but there will be besides, sufficient to discharge all I owe by God's Grace, whether I live or die. And next to these Children, there are not any other Persons I wish more Happiness than to the House of their Grandfather, and shall be always most ready to serve them, what Opinion soever he had of me; for no other's Usage can absolve me of what I owe, not only to the Memory but to the last Legacy that noblest Creature left with me when God took her to himself. I am afraid to turn over the Leaf, lest your Ladyship might think I could never come to a Conclusion; and shall therefore add to all the rest this one Truth more, that whenever I be happy thorough the Occasion, there is not any more

Your Ladyship's

obedient and most humble

Son and Servant,

*Fairwood-Park, the 10th
of Augu^t, 1639.*

WENTWORTH.

LET.

L E T T E R XLIX.

Charles I. *to the Earl of* Strafford.*Strafford,*

THE Misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange Mistaking and Coniunctur of these Tymes being such that I must lay by the Thought of imploring you heereafter in my Affaires; yet I cannot satisfie myself in Honnor or Conscience, without assuring you (now in the midst of your Trobles) that, upon the Word of a King, you shall not suffer in Lyfe, Honnor, or Fortune. This is but Justice, and therefore a verie meane Rewarde from a Maister, to so faithfull, and able a Servant, as you have showed yourselfe to bee; yet it is as much, as I conceive the present Tymes will permitt, though none shall hinder me from being

*Your constant**faithfull Friend,*

Whythall, Apr. 23.
1641.

CHARLES R.

L E T-

LETTER L.

Earl of Strafford to his Son.

My dearest Will,

THESE are the last Lines that you are to receive from a Father that tenderly loves you. I wish there were a greater Leisure to impart my Mind unto you; but our merciful God will supply all things by his Grace, and guide and protect you in all your Ways: to whose infinite Goodness I bequeath you; and therefore be not discouraged, but serve him, and trust in him, and he will preserve and prosper you in all Things.

Be sure you give all Respect to my Wife, that hath ever had a great Love unto you, and therefore will be well becoming you. Never be awanting in your Love and Care to your Sisters, but let them ever be most dear unto you: for this will give others Cause to esteem and respect you for it, and is a Duty that you owe them in the Memory of your excellent Mother and myself: Therefore your Care and Affection to them must be the very same that you are to have of yourself; and the like Regard must you have to your youngest Sister; for indeed you owe it her also, both for her Father and Mother's sake.

Sweet

Sweet *Will*, be careful to take the Advice of those Friends, which are by me desired to advise you for your Education. Serve God diligently Morning and Evening, and recommend yourself unto him, and have him before your Eyes in all your Ways. With Patience hear the Instructions of those Friends I leave with you, and diligently follow their Counsel: For, 'till you come by Time to have Experience in the World, it will be far more safe to trust to their Judgments than your own.

Lose not the Time of your Youth, but gather those Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge, which may be of use to yourself, and Comfort to your Friends, for the rest of your Life. And that this may be the better effected, attend thereunto with Patience, and be sure to correct and refrain yourself from Anger. Suffer not Sorrow to cast you down, but with Chearfulness and good Courage go on the Race you have to run in all Sobriety and Truth. Be sure with an hallowed Care to have respect to all the Commandments of God, and give not yourself to neglect them in the least Things, lest by Degrees you come to forget them in the greatest: for the Heart of Man is deceitful above all things. And in all your Duties and Devotions towards God, rather perform them joyfully than pensively; for God loves a chearful Giver. For your Religion, let it be directed according to that which shall be taught by those, which are in God's Church the proper Teachers therefore, rather than that you ever either fancy one to yourself, or be led by Men that are singular
in

in their own Opinions, and delight to go Ways of their own finding out: for you will certainly find Soberness and Truth in the one, and much Unsteadiness and Vanity in the other.

The King I trust will deal graciously with you, restore you those Honours and that Fortune, which a distempered Time hath deprived you of, together with the Life of your Father: which I rather advise might be by a new Gift and Creation from himself, than by any other Means, to the end you may pay the Thanks to him without having Obligation to any other.

Be sure to avoid as much as you can to inquire after those that have been sharp in their Judgments towards me, and I charge you never to suffer Thought of Revenge to enter your Heart, but be careful to be informed, who were my Friends in this Prosecution, and to them apply yourself to make them your Friends also; and on such you may rely, and bestow much of your Conversation amongst them.

And God Almighty of his infinite Goodness bless you and your Children's Children; and his same Goodness bless your Sisters in like manner, perfect you in every good Work, and give you right Understandings in all things.
Amen.

Your most loving Father,

*Tower, this 11th
of May, 1641.*

T. WENTWORTH.

You

You must not fail to behave yourself towards my Lady *Clare* your Grandmother with all Duty and Observance; for most tenderly doth she love you, and hath been passing kind unto me. God reward her Charity for it. And both in this and all the rest, the same that I counsel you, the same do I direct also to your Sisters, that so the same may be observed by you all. And once more do I, from my very Soul, beseech our gracious God to bless and govern you in all, to the saving you in the Day of his Visitation, and join us again in the Communion of his blessed Saints, where is Fulness of Joy and Bliss for evermore. *Amen, Amen.*

L E T T E R L I.

James Earl of Derby, to Commissary General Ireton, in Answer to the Summons sent the Earl to deliver up the Isle of Man.

S I R,

I HAVE received your Letter with Indignation, and with Scorn return you this Answer; That I cannot but wonder, whence you should gather any Hopes that I should prove like you, treacherous to my Sovereign; since you cannot be ignorant of the manifest Candor of my former Actings in his late Majesty's Service, from which Principles of Loyalty I am no whit departed. I scorn your Proffer; I disdain your Favour; I abhor your Treason;

Treason; and am so far from delivering up this Island to your Advantage, that I shall keep it to the utmost of my Power, and, I hope, to your Destruction. Take this for your final Answer, and forbear any further Solicitations; for if you trouble me with any more Messages of this Nature, I will burn your Paper, and hang up your Messenger. This is the immutable Resolution, and shall be the undoubted Practice, of him who accounts it his chiefeft Glory to be, his Majesty's most loyal, and obedient Subject,

*From Castle-Town
this 12th of July,
1649.*

DERBY.

L E T T E R LII.

Charles II. *to the Duke of York.*

Dear Brother,

I Have received yours without a Date, in which you mention, that Mr. *Montague* has endeavoured to pervert you in your Religion. I do not doubt, but you remember very well the Commands I left with you at my going away concerning that Point, and am confident you will observe them. Yet the Letters that come from *Paris* say, that it is the Queen's Purpose to doe all she can to change your Religion, which, if you hearken to her, or any body els in that Matter, you must never thinke to see *England*, or me again; and whatsoever Mischiefe shall fall on me, or my Affairs from this Time, I must lay all upon you, as being the only cause of it. Therefore consider well what it is; not only to be the Cause

Cause of ruineing a Brother, that loves you soe well, but alsoe of your King and Country. Doe not let them perswade you either by Force or faire Promises ; for the first they neither dare, nor will use ; and for the second, as soon as they have perverted you, they will have their End, and will care no more for you.

I am also informed, that there is a Purport to put you in the Jesuits Colledge, which I command you upon the same Grounds never to consent unto. And whensoever any body shall goe to dispute with you in Religion, doe not answer them at all ; for though you have the Reason on your side, yet they being prepared, will have the Advantage of any body, that is not upon the same Security that they are. If you do not consider what I say to you, remember the last Words of your dead Father, which were, to be constant to your Religion, and never to be shaken in it. Which if you doe not observe, this shall be the last Time you will ever hear from,

Dear Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother,

*Cologne, Nov.
10, 1654.*

CHARLES R.

LET-

LETTER LIII.

Robert Duckenfield to Oliver Cromwell.

May it please your Highnes,

I Received you Lordship's Commission for a Horse Regiment on the last Lord's Day, and sent an Answere thereto immediately; but the Messenger was gone before from *Chester* towards *London*, which occasioned these Lynes, to give your Lordshipp an Accompt, that I dare not as yet accept of the said Commission, for many Reasons: first, because my Endeavours this way formerly, though very successfull, have beene taken in ill part; and this County especially is soe wonderfully impoverished, as without destroying of it, not many Soldiers can be raised therein in the Way you intend.

2. Because that the Extreames that the levelling Party do run furiously upon, doth, as I humbly conceive, drive your Highnes upon direct contrary Extreames; and I desire to imitate *Caleb* and *Josua* in the Wilderness, as neare as may be, and not to seeke a Confederacy with those, who limitt God to their Passions, and against whom God hath an evident Controversy, &c. I believe firmly, that the Roote and Tree of Piety is alive in your Lordship, though the Leaves theirow, through abundance of Temptations and Flatteries, seeme to be withered much of late; yet I hope Time and Experience will have a good Influence upon your Lordship (*Deo juvente*) &c.

I praise the Lord for his extraordinary Mercy to me this way, that I am not much moved with

the Actings of Men, though of the better Sort ; nor do I regard Preferment much : yet, to do this Commonwealth a Pleasure, I am content to leave my private and obscure Condition, wherewith I am much delighted, for a Season, to accept of some handsome military Command, if your Lordshipp thinke well theirow ; so as the Men that I serve with may not be cast of afterwards unrequited ; and that they be selected in the best way from such as be your superficiall and dissembling Friends, whom I know well, and will have little to do with them, unless forced theirow. I am not afraid of my Life, or Estate, and to improve the Talent I have, I should be glad to serve your Lordship in any forraine War within the Continent of *Europe*, rather then within this Nation.

I humbly conceive further, that these remote Corners of this Nation are so corrupted of late, by the Subtilties of the jesuited Party, as few of them, that will be intrusted with Armes by the new militia Committees in these Parts, will be found faithfull to your Interest, in case of Necessity or Danger. Theirfore I think it would be an excellent Course, to raise about 2000 Horse equally out of all the Counties on the north Side *Trent*, and to impose the Charge of maintaining and finding them onely upon such as are convicted or suspected notoriously for Malignity. Wheirby your Highnes would do a very just and feasible Act, without putting your selfe, or any one else, that be innocent or well affected, to any great Charge about them. The Clamours of most Men, that you punish the Innocent promiscuously with the Nocent, will be taken away by this means. *Charles Steward* hath 500 Friends in these adjacent Counties,

Counties, for every one Friend to you amongst them, and he doubts not of finding you Worke enough, whilst hee lives. I humbly beg Pardon for this Boldnes, it proceeding really from the Wel-wishes of your Lordship's very faithful and humble Servant,

Duckenfield, March
23, 1654.

ROB. DUCKENFIELD.

LETTER LIV.

Oliver Cromwell to his Son H. Cromwell.

Sonne,

I Have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*, and do finde thereby, that you are very apprehensive of the Carriage of some Persons with you towards your selfe, and the publique Affairs. I doe believe there may be some particular Persons, who are not very well pleased with the present Condition of Things, and may be apt to shew their Discontent, as they have Opportunitie; but this should not make too great Impressions in you. Tyme and Patience may worke them to a better Frame of Spirit, and bring them to see that, which for the present seems to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your Moderation and Love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you; which I earnestly desire you to studye and endeavour all that lyes in you, whereof both you and I too shall have the Comfort, whatsoever the Issue and Event thereof be.

For what you write of more Help; I have longe endeavoured it, and shall not be wanting to send you some further Addition to the Councell, as soon as Men can be found out, who are fit for that Trust. I am alsoe thinkinge of sending over to you a fitt Person, who may command the North of *Ireland*, which I believe stands in great need of one, and am of your Opinion, that *Trevor* and Col. *Mervin* are very dangerous Persons, and may be made the Heads of a new Rebellion: and therefore I would have you move the Councell, that they be secured in some very safe Place, and the further out of their own Countreyes the better. I commend you to the Lord, and rest

Your affectionate Father,

21 Nov. 1655.

OLIVER P.

LETTER LV.

Daniel O Neile to Charles II.

Hage, Janu. 1656.

BEFORE your Majestie's last Letters came, Monsieur *Heenuleit* obtained hir Hyghnesse Permissiōe to have his Wyf left with him, and that his Daughter Mrs. *Howard* (whoe is of late made Governess to the Prince) should goe in hir Place. They are both infinitely troubled your Majestie should think hir going necessary, and that shee should not have Strength equal to hir Will to obey your Majestie. The Truth is, shee is
very

very weak, and very often sick; but not soe ill, but that if Monsieur *Heenuleit* went, shee would venture; but shee thinks it not fitt to leave him all alone, forsaken of his Friends, and in the midst of all his Majestie's and his one Enemys. Both he and shee give another Reason, which passes not so currant with mee, and they think it the best; it is, that at *Collen*, when hir Hyghness was in the Heat of her Passione, told Monsieur *Heenuleit*, that the World beeleeved shee was governed by them; but she would disabuse it. By what means, I know not, hee has understood, that hir Hyghness has had this from the Palais Royale; therefore hee'll lett hir goe thether without him or his Wyf, so lett the Queene see the Princess can be as well ther without them, as shee can bee where they are. They doe not at all feare shee'll take any Impression prejudiciall to your Majestie; on the contrary, they are confident, shee will returne of another Perswasione then shee goes, and they had rather shee should find hir Errors in ther Absence, then when they are with hir.

Monsieur *Heenuleit* most humbly begs your Majestie's Pardon for the Disobedience of his Wyf, since hir Stay is necessary for that Lyf, which hee hopes, iff your Majestie gets once into *Flanders*, to make more usefull to you, then any Service his Wyf could doe you in *France*, where, hee thinks, your Majestie is to expect litle hereafter. I beseech your Majesty, in the next, that you doe me the Honor to writ, to signifye your Majestie is not unsatisfied with ther Resolutione, else you will ad much to ther trouble in not obeying your command.

This Day I sent the Huntsman with 14 Couple of Hounds to *Collen*; the Fellow since his coming hither, and to make his Jurny, had 300 Guilders. Mr. *Howard* demanded 400 Guilders more for transporting of them, which was as cheap a Bargain as my Lord *Newburg* had of his Horses; but Monsieur *Heenuleit* would pay nothing without I allowed it, and Mr. *Howard* was so modest as not to offer to account with me; for he knew I found there was not 40 Guilders due. I have given Mr. *For* an Account of the Liverys. The Lord bless and preserve your Majestie!

L E T T E R LVI.

Daniel O Neile to Charles II.

Hage, 14th Feb. 1656.

BEFORE I took the liberty to writ any thing to your Majestie of Mrs. *Barloe*, I did sufficiently inform myself of the Truth of what I writ, since I had the Opportunity to save hir from publick Scandal att least. Hir Mayd, whom shee would have killed by thrusting a Bodkin into hir Eare as shee was asleep, would have accused hir of that of miscarrying of two Children by Phisick, and of the infamous manner of hir living with Mr. *Howard*; but I have prevented the Mischief, partly with Threats, butt more with a 100 Guilders I am to give her Mayd. Hir last Miscarriage was since Mrs. *Howard* went, as the Midwyf says to one that I imploy to hir. Doctor *Rufus* has given hir Phisick, but it was allways after hir miscarrying; and though hee knew any thing, it would be indiscreet to tell it.

it. Therefore I would not attempt him, and the rather, that I was sufficiently assured by those that were nearer. Though I have saved him for this tyme, it's not lykly thet'le escap when I am gon; for onely the Consideratione of your Majestie has held Monsieur *Heenaleit* and Monsieur *Nertwick*, not to have him banished this Toun and Country for an infamous Person, and by sound of Drum. Therefore it were well, if your Majesty will owne that Chyld, to send him your positive Command to deliver him unto whom your Majestie will apoint. I know it from one, whoe has read my Lord *Taaf's* Letter to him of the 11th by this last Post, that hee tells him, your Majestie has noething more in Consideration then his Sufferings; and that the next Monny you can get or borrow, shall be sent to suply him. Whye your Majestie encourages any to speak this Language, thet'le never obey what you will have. The onely way is to necessitat him, if your Majesty can think him worth your Care.

LETTER LVII.

Lady Mary Cromwell to Hen. Cromwell.

Dear Brother,

YOUR kind Letters do so much engag my Hart towards you, that I can never tel how to expres in writing the tru Affection and Value I hav of you, who truly I think non that knows you but you may justly claim it from. I must confes myself in a great Fault in the omiteng of writing to you and your dear Wif so long a tim; but I supos you cannot be ignorant of the Reason,

which truly has ben the only Caus, which is this Bisnes of my Sister *Franfes* and Mr. *Rich.* Truly I can truly say it, for thes thre Months I think our Family, and myself in particular, hav ben the gratest Confusion and Troble as ever poor Family can be in: the Lord tel us his * * * * in it, and setel us, and mak us what he would hav us to be. I supos you hard of the breaking of the Bisness, and according to your Defer in your last Leter, as well as I can, I shall give you a full Account of it, which is thes. After a quarter of a Yeor's Admitons, my Father and my Lord *Warwick* begon to tret about the Estate, and it seems my Lord did not ofer that that my Father expected. I ned not nam Peticulars, for I suppose you may hav had it from beter Hands; but if I may say the Truth, I think it was not so much Estat, as som private Resons, that my Father discovred to non but my Sester *Franfes* and his own Famliy, which was a Dislik to the young Person, which he had from som Reports of his being a visious Man, given to play, and such lik things, which Ofis was done by som that had a mind to break of the Match. My Sester hearing these things, was resolved to know the Truth of it; and truly dud find al the Reports to be fals, that wer raisd of him; and to tel you the Truth, they wer so much ingagd in Afection before this, that shee could not thenk of breaking of it of, so that my Sester engagd me and all the Frinds she had, who truly wer very few, to spek in her Behalf to my Father; which we dud, but could not be heard to any Purpos; only this my Father promised, that if he were satisfyed as to the Report, the Estat should not break it of, which she was satisfyed with; but after this ther was a

second

second Trety, and my Lord *Warwick* defered my Father to nam what it was he demanded more, and to his utmost he would satisfy him; so my Father upon this mad new Proposifeons, which my Lord *Warwick* has answered as much as he can; but it fems ther is fiv hundred Pounds a Yeor in my Lord *Riche's* Hands, which he has Power to sell; and ther are some People; that perswaded her Highness, that it would be defonorable for him to conclud of it, without thes fiv hundred Pounds a Yeor be settled upon Mr. *Rich*, after his Father's Deth, and my Lord *Rich* having no Esteem at all of his Son, becos he is not bad as himself; wil not agree to it; and thes People upon this perswad my Father, it would be a Defoner to him to yeld upon thes Terms; it would shew, that he was mad a Fool on by my Lord *Rich*; which the Truth is, how it should be, I can't understand, nor vere few els; and trully I must tel you privatelie, that they ar so far engaged, as the Match cannot be brok of. She acquainted non of her Friends with her Resolution, when she did it. Dear Brother, this is as far as I can tel the State of the Bisness. The Lord direct them what to do; and al I think ought to beg of God to pardon her in her dowing of this thing, which I must say trully, she was put upon by the of things. Dear, let me beg my Excuses to my Sester for not witing my best Respects to her. Pardon this Troble, and belev me, that I shal ever striv to aproov myself,

Dear Brother,

Your affectionate Sester and Servant,

June 23, 1656.

MARY CROMWELL.

LETTER LVIII.

General Mountagu to Secretary Thurloe.

S I R,

THE Lord hath beene pleased to afford an Occasion of writinge to you sooner than I thought off, with soe much Safetie, and upon soe good an Account. Blessed be his Name, who hath looked upon the low Condition of the Nation, and hath turned the Reproaches of wicked Men with Shame upon their own Faces. Indeed my Hart is very much warmed with the Apprehension of the singular Providence of God, in bringinge this about for us in so seasonable a Tyme (as I doubt not you will experiment in *England*) as also the Considerablenesse of the Thinge in itselfe; which Mercyes I trust he will be pleased to perfect, by giving all a safe Passage and Conveyance to you in *England*. The Lord keepe up a thankfull Hart in us for these and other his wonderfull Favours.

On *Wednesday* last (*September 17*) late at Night, we received an Account from the Squadron wee left before *Cales*, of their meetinge with the Kinge of *Spain's West India* Fleete, and the Successe of their Encounter with them, concerninge which, I refer you to our Letter to his Highnesse, whereby you will have a Coppy of Captain *Sayner's* Letter to us. Here is now on board us the eldest Son of the Marquis of *Bayden*, with whom I have had much Conference; he is but 16 Yeeres of Age, borne in the *Indies*, a most pregnant, ingenious, learned Youth, as I have mett with, and whose Story is the saddest, that ever I heard
or

or read off to my Remembrance. From Discourse with him, I give you the inclosed Account (for the most part.) I shall only observe to you a single Providence in the bringinge the Shippes in to ours. The *Portugal* Prize they took nere the Western Islands, upon their Enquiry; told them, that the *English* Fleet were all gone home, and gave them such Assurance thereof (I suppose upon the Sight of our Partye going for *Lisbone*) that they steered directly for *Cales*, and there (as I heare) they saw a *Barcalonga* coming out of *St. Luas*, as they passed by the Barr; but beinge confident of their Information, sailed on for *Cales*, and in the Evening mett with our Ships, and kept company with them all Night, and kept their Lights out, and shootinge of Guns, as they used to doe, and mistrusted them not to be *English*, untill our Shippes bore up to them, and God gave Oppertunitie for what was done.

There is mention of the Marquesse of *Baydex*, in the Vice-admirall. Concerninge him; understand this sad Storye, and true. He was born 18 Leagues off *Madrid* in *Spainne*, of a noble Family; but their Fortunes consumed. The Kinge of *Spainne* made him Governour of *Chili*, which he continued 9 Yeares, then remooved him to governe the Kingdome of *Lima*, which he did 14 Yeares; and now having gotten a considerable Estate, and his time of Government expired, and being sent for home, was imbarqued with his whole Family and Wealth in this Fleet for *Spainne*, where he was to have been made Governour of *Cadix*. By the enclosed Paper, you may perceive the Event of the Vice-admiral, wherein they were. In the Fire, the Marquesse's Lady, and one of his Daughters, fell down in a Swound,
and

and were burned. The Marquesse himself had Opportunitie to have escaped; but seing his Lady and his Daughter, whom he loved exceedingly, in that Case, said he would die where they died; and embracing his Lady, was burned also with them. The young Gentleman, here on board, is thus left without Father, Mother, or Means (having none in *Spayne* nor in the *Indies*) and you see how much he lost in that Shippe, and I beleeve he hath little lesse taken by us in Barrs of Silver (as is reported) himselfe borne in the *Indies*, and so not knowne to any Person in *Spayne*.

Wee have sent out four Friggotts to helpe to bringe in the Gallions, and to goe and strengthen our Guard before *Cales*. The Lord send a good Issue to all.

The *New Spaine* Fleet is at the *Havana*, uncertaine when they will come home.

I send you two Letters of mine, which were one of them putt aboard a Merchant bound for *London*, the other intended to be sent by other Shippes. By them you will perceive the Posture wee are in, unlesse we heare from you, and receive other Orders, which, in that case, wee shall comply withall. Thus at present I remayne, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

Sept. 19th, 1656.
Aboard the *Naesby*,
in the Bay of *Wyers*.

E. MOUNTAGU.

LET-

LETTER LIX.

*Capt. Richard Stayner to the Generals of
the Fleet.*

Right Honourable,

AFTER my Service presented to your Honours, these are to acquaint you, that upon the 8th instant at Night it blew hard Westwardly, by means whereof we with our Squadron (only the *Providence*, she being gone to water) weighed out of the Bay of *Cadiz*, and plyed to Sea. In the Evening we espied eight Sail, some five or six Leagues to the Westward of *Cadiz*, we using the best Means that we could, to meet with them the next Day, which we did, it being little Wind at N. E. It was Nine of the Clock before we came up with them; but having a fresh Gale in the Night, all but we and the *Bridgwater* were to the Leeward, and could not come up to us. But when we came to the Fleet, it proved to be the *Spanish* Fleet; come from the *West Indies*, which were four of the King of *Spain's*, three Merchant Men, and one Prize, which they had taken by way of the Western Islands, being a *Portuguese*, which were eight in all. We engaged the Fleet, but being within four Leagues of *Cadiz*, could not stay for our Ships; but we, the *Bridgwater*, and *Plymouth*, engaged them, and had a sharp Dispute some of us; but the Admiral being the smallest Ship, we slighted her, for we conceived there was some Policy used in the Flag, by which means the Admiral and the *Portugal* Prize got into *Cadiz*. The Vice-admiral, and one more,
we

we sunk, and burnt two; we took one. The Captain of her, which we have on board, saith, she hath in her two Millions of Silver. The Vice-admiral had as much I do believe. The *Plymouth* chased another, who came ashore near St. Peter's and Cape *Degar*, but it seems, by the Prisoners Information, they had no Silver in her. The Ship we took is as good as all the Fleet besides. The other that Captain *Herman* hath taken, is very rich; but little Silver in her. Both the Prize and our Ship are sorely wounded both in Masts and Hull. The Commanders advise me not to take the Silver out of her. I do intend to take further Advice about it. There is no News, only I believe the Fleet will follow us: the Gallies came out. Because of the Riches and Disability of our Ship, we will come towards you, except your Honours send further Orders, for we are in no Capacity to stay here. I shall leave two or three of the best sailing Ships off the Cape, and I and the rest will come to *Lisbon*, where I hope to find your Honours. There is the *Nova Spemela* Fleet at the *Havanna*, but when they will come home is not knowne. This is all, only there is loss of Men in some Ships, the Number I know not. I am,

From on board the *Your Honours humble Servant,*
Speaker, in haste,
 this 9th of Sept.
 1656.

REC. STATEM.

LET.

LETTER LX.

The Names of the chiefest Commanders and Persons that I have been informed were taken in the two Ships, and other two sunk and burnt by some six sail of Frigots, under the Command of General Blake, the 10th of Sept. 1656.

S*SIX Spanish Ships* that came from the *Havanna*, laden with Gold, Silver, Pearls, and precious Stones, Hides, Indico, Sugar, Chocanillo, Little Varinas, and Tobacco, came from the *West Indies* in 58 Days, made no Land, nor touched at any Place. They took by the way one little *Frenchman*, laden with Hides; another small Ship, that came from *Portugal* for the Eastern Islands, laden with Wheat; both which Prizes they brought along with them to the Place where they were taken. When they took the *Portugal* Ship, they asked them, where the *English* Fleet was? Their Answer was, That their Countrymen the *Spaniards* did beat them off the Coast a Month before: so they came for *Cadix*, not doubting any thing, where they saw our six Frigots, which seemed to them as Fisher-boats; so they bore up to them, thinking to have put the Plate out, which was not registered. Some of our Frigots engaged with them, burnt one presently. The Vice-admiral fought six Hours; the *Spaniards* say our Men set her on fire, so they sunk her; but our Men took out of her much Gold and Silver before she sunk. There was killed one hundred and ten Men, whereof the

chiefest was a Marquis; called in *Spanish*, *El Marquis de Vaydes y Conde de Pederozo*, Governor of *Lima* in *New Spain* for many Years. He brought with him 800,000 Pieces of Eight. He and his Wife were burnt; also one Son, and one Daughter of fifteen Years of Age. Our Men took up three Sons and two Daughters, whereof his eldest Son was a Marquis. They are all Prisoners. The eldest Daughter was to be married to the Duke of *Medina Celi's* Son; the other Daughter was to be married to Don *Juan de Joyas*, Commander of the Galleon that we have taken.

The Galleon that is taken, whereof Don *Juan de Joyas* was Commander, was about 500 Tuns, had in her 350 Men, which are Prisoners. Their General was a small Frigot of about 200 Tons, who being to windward of our Ships, got into Cales with one of their small Prizes which they had taken. The other two, our Men say, are run ashore and lost: no Certainty of this, until our Ships come from *Logos*. As concerning the true Value of their Ships taken is not justly known; but by the Calculation of the *Spaniards*, there is taken and lost some nine Millions of Pieces of Eight; so they conceive may be taken some five Millions of Pieces of Eight.

Also there is a Relation, according as we have received it from the young Marquis we have taken, that by an Earthquake, almost the whole City of *Lima*, in the *South Sea*, with 12,000 Men, and one hundred Millions of Plate in Pigs, were all destroyed within six Months, a little before they came out; and that the Mines there failed, and the Natives most destroyed by working in them, and are ready to revolt upon an unheard

of

of Cruelty the *Spaniard* hath lately exercised amongst them.

L E T T E R L X I.

General Mountagu to Secretary Thurloe.

S I R,

SINCE I dispatcht my Pacquett to you, I have had almost a whole Afternoon's Discourse with Don *Francisco de Lopez*, the now Marquess of *Baydex*, who is a most ingenious and intelligent Youth, about 16 years of Age, born in *Lima*. He hath given mee very much Light concerning the *Westerne Indies*; and I thought it not amisse to trouble you with some of it: if it be of no Use, it is but my Labour lost in writinge. He saith, that about 5 Moents since, presently after his Father and Family departed out of *Lima* in *Peru*, there happened the fearfullest Earthquake; and Raininge of Fire from Heaven, in *Peru*; that has beene heard off in the World, insomuch that the whole Cittye of *Lima* is swallowed up, and also the Island of *Calloa*, in which Places there perished about 11,000 *Spaniards*, and not above 100 *Indians* with them. In that Cittye alsoe the King of *Spaine* hath lost by the Earthquake 50,000 Millions of Barrs of Silver ready wrought up. The famous Mines and Mountains of *Potosi* are destroyed, soe that there is noe more Hills to be seene, all a Plaine, nor any further Possibilitie of having Silver or Gold in *Peru*. The King hath had noe Knowledge hereof untill now, by the Shipps that escaped of this Company. It is too large to repeat all that he hath told mee of the

the monstrous Cruelty of the Spaniards to the poor Indians, even those of them that are counted Freemen, and profess the Roman Catholique Religion; insomuch that they cry to Heaven against them, and are beyond measure grieved with their Sufferings.

He tells me assuredly, that the Island of *Hispaniola* is abundantly rich in Mines of Gold and Silver, and that the only Reason, why they have not hitherto been wrought, hath been the King's Edict, which he hath read, severely prohibiting the digging or transportation of any thence; intending that as a Reserve, in case Wars should grow upon him, that might cause a greater Expence of Money, or the Mines in *Peru* faile; and he saies, undoubtedly now that this Fatality is come upon *Peru*, the next Order from the King of *Spaine* will be, to open the Mines of *Hispaniola*. He saies, that since our Attempt there, *Santa Domingo* is mightily fortified and provided in all Points for Defence, both with Men, and Arms, and Provisions.

He saith also, that the *Mexican Fleet* is now in the *Havana*; that there are 10 Shippes of them, the Admirall and Vice-admirall only Gallions for Burthen, and they have in them seven Millions of Plate; the other 8 are Gallions only fitted with Ordinance and Soldiers for Warr. They will arrive in *Europe* (probably) about the latter End of *November*, or rather in *December*, as he thinks. They alwaies make the *Canaries* in their Returne, and they there receive Advice from *Spaine*, whether to betake themselves; and 'tis possible that they may be directed for *Gallicia*, if they see will in *Spain*, as these Ships we have taken would have

have done, if their *Portugall* Prize had not liad to them and betrayed them.

He saith, the *Havana* is a Place almost impregnable; *Cartagena* easie to be had by starvinge, and that way only: it is a Peninsula, and may easily be deprived of Commerce and Assistance. The People upon the Maine are generally very fearfull of Attempts from the *English*, and their unaccustomednesse to Warr is the Cause thereof, though otherwise naturally they are a People bold enough, and shew it in private and particular Quarrells.

He saith, if the *English* be able to mayntaine a Fleete at *Jamaica*, the *Spaniard* can trade noe more in the *Indies* but with great Fleets; for already, he saith, the *Spanish* Merchants give over, and will noe more venture their Estates, unlesse the King provide sufficiently for their Protection. He saith also, he heard before they came out of the *Havana*, that some of our Fleete of *Jamaica* had taken some *Spanish* Shippes laden with Negroes, but none of Silver. He also saies, there was a Report, that 9 Shippes were sent by *Sedgewicke* to *England*, and that he demands Supply of all things from *England*, viz. Victualls and Woemen, &c. if it is expected he should continue there. And he saies, the Natives and Negroes of *Jamaica* infect them sorely, whensoever they adventure out of their Fortifications for Cattle or the like.

He saith, that though the Natives upon the Maine be readye to receive Libertye from the Hands of any People, by reason of their Oppressions unheard of almost (as before is said) yet the *Spaniards* are exceedingly loyall; which appeared not long since by a Preffer, which the
Dutch

Dutch and *French* made to them at *Lima* in *Peru*, that they would engage to come yearly to them with a certain Number of Shippes, and bring them Commoditties at a farr cheaper Rate then they have from *Spayne*, and trade with them upon their own Account, which the *Spaniard* refused totally.

He saies, the Inquisition is most severe and cruell in the *Indies*; but the Inquisitors are universally hated to such a degree, that an Inquisitor dares not stir out of his own House, not so much as to see a Friend, for fear of Violence from the People.

This is as much as is materiall to write hereoff at present. I am.

Sept. 20, 1656. Your very humble Servant,
Nasebye, in the Bay
of *Wyers*.

E. MOUNTAGU.

L E T T E R LXII.

Oliver Cromwell to Lockart, his Ambassador at Paris.

S I R,

I Have seene your last Letter to Mr. Secretary, as alsoe divers others; and although I have noe doubt either of your Dilligence or Ability to serve us in soe great a Business, yet I am deeply sensible, that the *French* are very much short with us in Ingenuity and Performance. And that which encreaseth our Sense is, the Resolution we had rather to overdoe then to be behinde hand
in

in any thinge of our Treatye. And although wee never were soe foolish to apprehend, that the *French* and their Interests were the same with ours in all things, yet as to the *Spanyard*, who hath beene knowne in all Ages, to be the most implacable Enemie that *France* hath, we never could doubt, before wee made our Treatye, that goinge upon such grounds, wee should have beene sayled as wee are. To talke of givinge us Garrisons, which are inland, as caution for future Action; to talke of what will be done next Campaine, are but parcells of Words for Children. If they will give us Garrisons, let them give us *Gallais*, *Deiye*, and *Bulloigne*; which I thinke they will doe as soon as be honest in their Words, in givinge us any one *Spanish* Garrison upon the Coast into our Hands. I positively thinke, which I say to you, they are afrayde we should have any Footinge on that side, though *Spanish*. I pray you tell the Cardinall from me, that I thinke, if *France* desires to mainteyne his Ground, much more to get Ground upon the *Spanyard*, the Performance of his Treatye with us will better doe it, then any thinge appears yet to me of any Designe he hath. Though wee cannot soe well pretend to Souldiery as those who are with him, yet wee thinke, that wee being able by Sea to strengthen and secure his Seidge, and reinforce it as wee please by Sea, and the Enemie in a Capacity to doe nothinge to relieve it; that the best time to besiedge that Place will be now, especially if we consider, that the *French* Horse will be able soe to ruine *Flanders*; as that noe Succour can be brought to relieve the Place; and that the *French* Army and our owne will have constant Relief,

Relief, as farr as *England* and *France* can give it, without any manner of Impediment, especially considering the *Dutch* are now engaged soe much to the Southward as they are. I desire you to let him knowe, that *Englishmen* have soe good Experience of Winter-expeditions, that they are confident, that if the *Spaniard* shall keepe the Field, as he cannot impede this Worke, soe neither will he be able to attaque any thinge towards *France* with a possibility of Retreat. And what doth all Delayes signifie, but the giveinge the *Spaniard* Oppertunitie so much the more to reinforce himself, and to the keepinge our Men another Summer to serve the *French*, without any Colour of a Reciprocall, or any Advantage to ourselves. And therefore, if this will not be listened unto, I desire, that Things may be considered of, to give us Satisfaction for the great Expence wee have been at with our navall Forces, and otherwise; which, out of an honourable and honest Ayme on our Part, hath been done, that we might answer our Engagements. And that Consideration may be had, how our Men may be put into a Posture to be returned to us; which wee hope wee shall employ to a better Purpose, then to have them to continue where they are. I desire wee may know what *France* saith, and will doe upon this Point. Wee shall be ready still, as the Lord shall assist us, to performe what can be reasonable expected on our Parte. And you may alsoe let the Cardinall knowe further, that our Intentions, as they have beene, soe they will be, to do all the good Offices wee can, to promote the Interest thereof. Apprehendinge it is of moment, that this Business should come to you with

Speed

Speed and Suretie, we have sent it by an Ex-
presse.

Your very lovinge Friend,

Whitehall, 31st

Aug. 1657.

O. P.

L E T T E R LXIII.

Henry Cromwell *to Lord Fauconberg.*

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship's Letter was very welcome to me, as bringing Demonstrations of his Highness's Wisdom, and my Sister's Happiness. I wish his Highness may make as happy a choice of Members for the other House of Parliament, as he hath done of a Husband for his Daughter. But I hope, that God, who assisted him in the one, will also continue his Goodness for the other. I may repeat your Lordship's Words, " This
" near Degree of Alliance, united with the
" Satisfaction I have received of your Lord-
" ship's personal Merit, affords me a double
" Happiness." Only I must confess, that this Contentment (great as it is) doth not so much satisfy me, as fill me with new Desires; for now I am longing to have a nearer converse with your Lordship, being apt to think my Absence the ill husbandry of so great a Talent. I will not wish your Lordship in *Ireland* (altho' our Barbarisms here, by giving your Lordship a greater Lustre, might be some Advantage, if your Lordship could be pleased with such Airs) but rather wish myself in *England*, where I might, in that measure,

measure, which becomes your Lordship's Meritt,
express myself,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate Brother,

and humble and faithful Servant,

Dublin, Dec.

9. 1657.

H. CROMWELL.

L E T T E R LXIV.

Hen. Cromwell, *to* Oliver Cromwell.

May it please your Highness,

HAVING by your Highness's Favour been admitted Governor here, your Highness might expect by the Return of the Messenger, who brought me your Commission, to receive from me nothing but Thanks; or, as some may think, nothing but Expressions of Joy for so great an Honour and Preferment. Nevertheless (though without the least Derogation from what I owe your Highness) I am forced to mingle with those Duties some Addresses of another Nature also. That which I am to trouble your Highness with at this time is, want of Monies to discharge so great an Arrear to your Army, as of late hath scarce been heard of within the three Nations. I have received lately a Letter from my Brother *Fleetwood*, so full of Discouragements as to this matter, that did I not know our Condition to be lamentable and dangerous, I should have little Hope to speed in this Attempt. I have several times
hinted

hinted our Wants to your Highness, Mr. Secretary, and others; but being then subordinate, I thought it fit to be urgent chiefly with my immediate Superiour, trusting, that he being upon the Place of Relief, and having himself left me in this entangled Condition, would use all fit Remedies. But hitherto finding no effectual Answer to all former Intimations; and having some reason to think, that some make it too much their Work to frustrate my Endeavours therein, the Care of this Business being now wholly mine, and that all Miscarriages must be charged upon my single Account, I must now humbly tell your Highness, that had not this Country been in an ill Condition, by reason of the 3 Months vacancy of Government, I should even have deferred opening my Commission, untill by Supply of Moneys I might have seen it possible for me to discharge the Trust thereby committed to me; and not have given ground for all Men to think, that my Greediness of Honour and Power is such, as to make me admit of any Absurdity, to venture upon any Impossibility, and to take upon me such things, as must hereafter end in your Highness's Disservice, and my own Reproach. May it please your Highness, this Arrear of our Army is of 8 Months Growth; about half of it being contracted before the disbanding in September 1655; and the rest, by paying off that great Number of Horse and Foot then disbanded, with the growing Pay of the then remaining Army, who got no Pay till near three Months after that Reduceement. I shall not here trouble your Highness with a more particular Account of this Matter, having entrusted my Lord Broghill with a large State thereof to be presented to your Highness, as it was drawn up by the

Treasurer and Auditors of the Exchequer here. In the next place, I humbly mind your Highness, that although I was left under this Debt, yet at the time of that Reducement, the Allowance from *England* was lessened from 24 m. to 17 m. Pounds *per mensem*, and no Care taken how to pay off that Debt. And that there hath been no Assignment made of that our Allowance since the 24th of *June* last, which comes to near 100,000 l. and which, with what is yet not sent to us of our former Assignments, makes up about the 180,000 l. which by my Letter to your Highness of the 15th of *July* last, I humbly intimated was wanting to clear our Engagements here. We are solicitous to think upon what Reason our Allowance of 17000 l. *per mensem* is with-held from us since *June* last; but hope, that it was not, because *Ireland's* Share of 1,900,000 l. *per Ann.* will not extend so farr; for in that case Care ought to have been taken for lessening the Charge of *Ireland* accordingly; which (foreseeing the Straights we were running into) I have several times pressed; and that in my Letter of the 15th of *July*, did offer my Thoughts as to the Manner and Hast of doing it. Your Highness seeing in what Condition I am, and how I came into it, I humbly beg your Highness to consider, what ill Uses of several kinds my Enemies have made of this Disadvantage; some perswading the Army, that I was negligent of their Concernments, hoping thereby to alienate the Affections of the Soldiery from me: others telling them my Interest in *England* was very small, that I could not procure Supplies as others, my Predecessors, had done; others taking occasion to advise, that the said Arrear might be wholly struck off, and never paid

paid at all, perhaps thereby to bring the Odium of so ill an Office upon me. Your Highness may easily conceive, what I have been forced to do to keep down mutinous Dispositions among them; and that it will be very difficult henceforward to keep the Army quiet, and in their due Obedience, with Words and Promises only. The Truth is, that to have borne Delays from time to time for above these two Years, did argue a good Temper and Inclination towards your Highness.

If they have no Relief from me now, when they see me in as much visible Power as they can expect, and when I want those Grounds of Excuse which formerly I had, I shall be much to seek how to carry it towards them for the future; for upon my being vested in the Government, they seeming to expect some Advantage, may think it very hard not to receive their bare Dues, after so long Expectation. Besides, this want of Pay concurring at this Juncture with the extreme Trouble and Confusion about *Spanish* and bad Coins, the Soldiers are apt to grow too licentious in abusing the Country, when they levy their Contribution, refusing to take such Money as probably is good enough; thereby to extort some unwarrantable Advantage from the People; all which they take occasion to do, partly out of Necessity, and partly presuming 'twill seem unreasonable to punish severely and pay negligently.

Moreover, if your Highness thinks fit shortly to lessen the Charge, I suppose it will appear very hard now, after all their patient Forbearance, to dismiss them without their Due. And if we put off those who are now to be disbanded, with the growing Pay of the rest who are to stand, we shall then relapse into the same Error we com-

mitted in 1655, upon the like Occasion; and so growing still into a worse and worse Condition, must at last fall into such a State, as I cannot promise my self able to wade through. I humbly beg your Highness to weigh these Truths, and not to keep me for ever engaged in Conflicts and Difficultys more and greater than any other Man in my way doth or hath suffered. Your Highness knows, how hard 'tis to keep things right without Money. The ill Consequences of these Wants may be hereafter represented as my Errors and Miscarriages; and it will be better for me never to have been advanced to this Place of Trust, than to be left without Means to manage it; without which it must prove but an empty and dangerous Title only. I hope your Highness will think well of some, perhaps not so fit, Expressions, which I used in giving you my Apprehensions of the Army. I am not willing to suggest causeless Fears, nor would I speak at this rate to any other: I judge it my Duty to deal faithfully upon these Occasions. Eight Months Arrear is so great a Matter, that I hope your Highness will not think me froward, if I insist upon the paying it off, as believing no prudent Man would or ever did embarque on a Charge of this Moment, without being first set on clear Board. I have several other things of Moment, wherewith to trouble your Highness, as that of the Reducement, and of your Highness's Leave for me to come for *England* for a small Time, at a convenient Season: but I shall at present only beg your Highness's Attention to this of sending us over the above-mentioned 180,000*l.* it being no more than what will appear to be justly due, as the Arrear of our Allowances from *England*.

I say

I say, I shall press this one thing of Money only; and therefore hope your Highness will mind it with Effect on our Behalfes. The Lord blefs your Highness, and direct you in that great Affair of the other House, and in what else may make for the Glory of his Name, and Good of his People committed to your Care; and enable me in the faithful discharge of my Trust, and that I may in all things approve myself

Your Highness's most obedient Son,

Dublin, 2 Dec.

1657.

H. C.

L E T T E R LXV.

Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell.

My Lord,

AFTER the Liberty your Lordship has given me, there cannot aught of Concerne happen in this Place, which I shall not endeavour to give you the perfectest Account of, and, if possible, outstrip all others in it. But those great things expected, in order to the Nation's Settlement, from the two Houses meeting, it has pleased God to dash all of a sodaine; for, my Lord, two Days after my last H. H. surprized us all, not only us of the lower Orbe, but those I mean of his Councell, most (I am sure) of them, if not all, by putting an End to boath the Houses of Parliament that *Thursday* Morning. This we now see he was forced to doe, least some turbulent Spirits amongst them should have put an

End to the Peace of this Nation, by embroyling it as farre in Blood and Confusions as ever.

Major-general *Packer*, who commands H. H. owne Regiment, is juſt now with H. H. and I have ſome Reason to think, his Commiſſion will be taken from him ere they part. It is beleevved ſome others too muſt follow ; but I dare not ſay who, being reſolved to give your Lordſhip all the Truth of Matters I can, without the leaſt Mixture of my owne or others Conjectures.

I cannot at all perceive H. H. diſpoſed to that of your Lordſhip's coming into *England*, tho' for never ſo ſmall a Time ; and the Truth is, I do not marvell att all as Things now ſtand ; for the Troblers of our Quiet will, no doubt, be watching all Advantages there, as well as heer, and a greater then your Lordſhip's Abſence I am ſure they do not wiſh, whoſe Actions ſtirre up as much Dread in them, as Wonder in all us that love you. This, my Lord, is the Language of my Judgment only, for my Affection runnes quite counter, and would perſwade, that for a few Months your Lordſhip might be diſpenſed with, there being no Perſon alive ſo impatiently longing for the Honour to kiſſe your Lordſhip's Hands, as,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithfull

and obedient Servant,

*Whitehall, Feb.
9th, 1657.*

FAUCONBERG.

LET-

LETTER LXVI.

Henry Cromwell to Lord Fauconberg.

My Lord,

AS *Ireland* (like all other reviving Plantations) receives many imported Goods, but exports little, so I cannot repay your Lordship's News with News, but must only give your Lordship my humble Thanks for those your free and useful Communications, as the Interest of your Lordship's Debt upon me. Besides, as *Ireland* sends forth nothing but Hides, Tallow, Pipe-staves, and other coarse Commodities, in exchange of the Delicacys of Art and Nature; so, my Lord, your Lordship must not expect any thing from mee bearing other Proportion to what I receive from your Lordship. Wherefore it's something, that I see in your Letters, not in my own, which makes me confident to draw you on to this Trouble of a Correspondence with me. Although the want of Mr. Secretary's Intelligence leaves a great Dimness upon my Sight of Affairs, yet I may tell your Lordship, without Flattery to your self, or Disparagement to him, that the Addition of your Lordship's Observations will so brighten the Objects I look upon, as to make his Prospective the more useful to me. Besides, my Lord, as several Plants contract their several and contrary Substances from the same common Earth, so certainly out of the same general Mass of humane Affairs, Men of several Minds and Inclinations will remark and be affected with several and very different Particulars. From whence concluding,

that your Lordship may shine upon me as clear from your own Orb, as Mr. Secretary from his, I again beg the Continuance of your Lordship's Favours: I say I beg, or at least would borrow them, for I told your Lordship you must not expect Payment from me at present.

I was quite mistaken in my last, when I feared as if the new-begotten House would lye cross in the Womb that conceived it; whereas now I see the unnatural Mother uses Means to procure the Abortion of her own Issue. But it may be, it is only the Worms or Vipers (you named) lying in the Gutts of the Commonwealth, which have caused the Frettings and Gnawings you mention: and this I rather believe, because of the 500 Maggots, which you say are now again busily crawling out of the Excrements of Mr. *Feak's* corrupted Church. But to be serious, my Lord; it is a sad thing, when Men of so many different Ways (for such are or have been many of those you mention) should all conspire for Unsettlement, seeking vain Occasions to quarrel. But it is his Highness's Happiness, that they find nothing but Words and Names to snap and snarl at.

I hear, that *Harrison, Carey, Okey, &c.* have done some new Feats. I hope God will infatuate these Men in their further Endeavours to disturb the Peace of these Nations, as they seem already to be by those their Follies, which do sufficiently shew them to have been but meer Pretenders to, and Abusers of Religion, and such whose Hypocrisy the Lord will avenge in his due Time. Our want of Money, and Engagements Abroad, will be an Encouragement to these Incendiaries, which are certainly very dangerous, and of an invete-

inveterate Temper, when nothing will suppress their Fury even for a while. I hope his Highness will have an Eye to the Army, that those who have a mind to scold, may not be suffer'd to fight too. The People of these Nations have been too well experienced by their past Sufferings, to engage their Blood in so particular and unchristian Animositys, as these Contentions now on the Stage seem to be. The Lord direct his Highness, and dispose his Friends to pray for his Life, on which Thread a great Weight hangs.

My dear Lord, you see I have no Matter, only Words to return for your Things. Wherefore I will abruptly subscribe my self.

February 10, 1657.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXVII.

Henry Cromwell to the Earl of Warwick.

My Lord,

I Am asham'd to have been so negligent of my Obligations to your Lordship, that nothing but so sad an Occasion as the Death of my dear Brother Mr. Rich should mind me of it. And I am sorry, that I cannot say what is just in Honour to his Memory, without a kind of Cruelty to your Lordship. And truly, my Lord, but that I know Religion is more prevalent with your Lordship than other worldly Consideration, that you do not so much look upon your own Loss as our dear Friend's Gain, nor upon your own Disappointment, as the fulfilling of that Will to which we must all submit, I should almost de-

spair of your Lordship's Patience, under so searching and proving a Tryall. But I know your Lordship has learnt to mourn as not without Hope, and to read the Mind of God in these Characters of his Providence, and withall to believe, that all things shall work for the best to those that fear him. Upon these Grounds I do the more presume upon your Lordship's Courage under this Dispensation. For my own Part, I am cut very short in my Expectations; for I placed much Happiness even in thinking upon the Fruits of those Seeds, which I understood to be in Mr. Rich, both as to the Honour of our whole Family, and the Advantage ~~of my own~~ particular Concernments.

But I hereby learn, that even these best Things are but frail; not knowing, but that this Stroke may be a Reproof particular unto myself, for placing (if it were possible) too much upon the Consequences of this Alliance. Upon these Considerations, I need not tell your Lordship, how I and my Wife resent this Providence, and sympathize with your Lordship's just Sorrow; the fuller Accompt whereof I leave to the Bearer. In the mean time praying the Lord to sanctify this Affliction to all concerned in it, giving us to make a due Use of it to his Glory; and withall, that God would help your Lordship to moderate the Sense of this Rebuke, and to recompense this Loss unto us by some more durable Good than this World can afford. In which Affections I remayne,

*My Lord,
Your Lordship's, &c.*

24th Feb. 1657-8.

H. CROMWELL.

LET-

LETTER LXVIII.

Hen. Cromwell to the Countess of Devonshire.

Madam,

I Know not how seasonable it would be to tell your Ladyship my Thoughts of my Brother *Rich*, nor what Honor and Support his Virtues promised to both our Families, least I should aggravate your Ladyship's Grief, already too great. There be many Reasons, why our Family, and particularly myself, should be affected with this Stroke; yet there is none more prevalent with me than my Concernment for your Ladyship's own Person: for considering my Obligations, I must be very ill-natured, if I should not grieve, because your Ladyship is grieved; and I am sure the Loss of the only Son of an only Daughter, and the Hopes, which, Madam, you had of that now blessed Person, cannot but grieve your Ladyship. I am confident your Ladyship has so learned Christ, the World, and the Use of these Dispensations, as to be enabled to bear this Crosse even beyond what might be expected from Flesh and Blood, and that Tenderness of Affection so eminent in your Ladyship. And truly, Madam, this Consideration only, wipes my Eyes; for truly, I am assured, the Lord will bring you safe out of this Affliction. This Occasion calls for your best Thoughts; nor would I willingly interrupt them; the End of this Express being to express how much my Wife, myself, and indeed all good People are affected with this Providence; and to assure your Ladyship, that altho' God hath seemed to break
the

the Bond, that Men think would have held our Familys together, yet I desire your Ladyship to beleive, that nothing shall be wanting in me to strengthen this Knott, whereof I was ever ambitious. I hope the Bearer will bring me a good Accompt of the Lord's supporting your Ladyship under this Visitation; the happy News whereof would be most welcome to,

Madam,

Your Ladyship's, &c.

24th February, 1657-8.

H. CROMWELL.

L E T T E R LXIX.

Henry Cromwell to Lord Fauconberg.

My Lord,

WHEN your Lordship had any Communication to impart unto me, I was always made sensible of your Liberality therein: wherefore now I must attribute as much to your Lordship's prudent Tenderneſs of me, in that when the ſad News of poor *Robin Rich's* Death muſt be written, your Lordship was but ſparing in your Mention of that ſad Story. My Lord, theſe Provinces are ſingly in themſelves no Miracles; yet when they happen ſo thick as of late upon Sir *John Reynolds*, and now upon this Gentleman, I cannot think, but that God intends them for our Inſtruction. I deſire your Lordship on my Behalf, to condole with my poor Siſter. Your Lordship is able to ſay whatever is materiall upon this Occaſion: wherefore, for me to venture upon any
Parti-

Particulars, were to put your Lordship upon a kind of Permeance, in observing my Importunencies, and to endanger the End of comforting myself, which cannot miscarry upon your Lordship's single Management. I hope your Lordship's being called to succour my dear Sister, your Lady, tends but to repair our Family of the late Loss it hath sustained; and I hope, that the sad Apprehensions occasioned by this late Stroke, will not frustrate our Hopes therein. I beleive your Lordship may by this time repent of the Liberty you have given me, and see the Inconvenience of Good-nature and Civility. My dear Lord, I will be at present more moderate in troubling your Lordship, begging at this time only the Leave not to omitt declaring myself,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

Feb. 20, 1657-8.

H. CROMWELL.

L E T T E R LXX.

Hen. Cromwell to Lord Broghill.

My dear Lord,

THE Services I have done to my Lord of *Cerke*, and others of your Family, are not yet equall, either to their own Merits, or to the Obligations your Lordship has heaped upon me: wherefore your Lordship's Mention, that I have done so much, upbraids me having done so little.

The calling of a Parliament signifies nothing, until the Army be sufficiently modelled; for that
being

being full of its Humours, makes the honest Party timorous, and the other insolent in their respective Proposals; the Misery of human Affairs being such, that the Spring of all Motions of this Nature must be a visible Force: I say, the well-framing of the Army would insensibly temper, and keep steady the Parliament, which, no doubt, would provide well enough for a Council. The Policy of those, who would keep out honest *Montagu*, &c. is not to be disallowed. I must say, I commend them for their Wit; but think withall, that the over-ballancing of these Politicians themselves is to be endeavoured; for where great Things as now are to be done, a bare Balance or *Æquilibrium* will not serve. We have ebbed and flowed long enough already. 'Tis now Time, as your Lordship says, that Affairs should run one way or other in a quick Current, and, if God so please, to Settlement. The Intimacy you mention of *Fleetwood* and *Disbrowe* with *Lambert*, I do not like; for when such as they dare correspond with such as hee, it argues their Power to be greater than one would wish, though I hope no greater than of all the rationally and interested Men of the three Nations, who, I am confident, will not comply with their Designs. I long to hear what the Meeting of the Officers and the rest will produce. I do not wonder, why my Lord *Fauconberg* cannot get into the Army, the Difficulty concerning him being the same with that of *Montague*; neither can the extraordinary Qualifications of that Gentleman much forward him therein, but rather hinder him; for his Abilitys being formidable against those who oppose him, it follows, that they must hate whom they fear. However, tell him the Faults I find
with

with him; and that I shall honour him, altho' he were thrust as much below his present State, as he deserves to be above it.

I beleive the Councill here do either not think your Lordship lame, or that you will quickly recover, having cutt you out trotting Work enough to founder six sure-footed Sollicitors, your Lordship being to negotiate for us in the Business of *Kildare*, procuring more Judges, the Admiralty, Probat of Wills, and as many things more, as would soon bankrupt the Endeavours and Interest of any but your Lordship.

We are now about settling the Adventurers, wherein I shall take a particular Care (as well by my self as Instruments) that all Fairness may be used towards them; which your Lordship may be pleased to acquaint them with upon Occasion, remembring to bespeak the favourable Construction of those, whom the Justness of the Rule we intend to proceed by shall cast amiss.

I think the Affections of the Army here remain warm enough to carry on any reasonable Representations of their Affairs; wherefore we will only keep them in that good Disposition, untill we shall be advised how to apply it. I remain

March 10, 1657.

Yours, &c.

LET.

LETTER LXXI

*Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell.**May it please your Excellency,*

I Gave you some Account by Doctor *Worth* of his Highnesse Condition, as it then was; but least he should delay his Journey, or miscarry in it, I thought it necessary to send this Expreffe, to the end your Excellency may fully understand how it is with his Highnesse. This is the 13th Day since his Ague took him, havinge bene sick a Fortnight before of a generall Distemper of Body. It continued a good while to be a Tertian Ague, and the burninge Fitts very violent. Upon *Saturday* it fell to a double Tertian, havinge 2 Fitts in 24 Houres, one upon the Heeles of another, which doe extreamely weaken hym, and endanger his Life. And truly since *Saturday* Morninge he hath scarce bene perfectly out of his Fitts. The Doctors are yet hopefull, that he may struggle through it, though their Hopes are mingled with much Feare. But truly wee have Cause to put our Hope in the Lord, and to expect Mercy from hym in this Case, he havinge stirred up the Saints to pray for hym in all Places. Never was there a greater Stocke of Prayers goinge for any Man then is now goinge for him; and truly there is a generall Consternation upon the Spirits of all Men, good and bad, feareinge what may be the Event of it,

it, should it please God to take his Highnesse at this tyme: and God havinge prepared the Heart to pray, I trust he will enclyne his Eare to heare. And that which is some Ground of Hope is, that the Lord, as in some former Occasions, hath given to himselfe a perticuler Assurance, that he shall yet live to serve hym, and to carry on the Worke he hath put into his Hands.

I doe not yet find there are any great Stirringes yet upon this Occasion; though the Cavaliers doe begin to listen after it, and hope their Day is comeinge, or indeed come, if his Highnesse dye. And truly, my Lord, wee have Cause to feare, that it may goe very ill with us, if the Lord should take away his Highnesse in this Coniuncture; not that I thinke *Charles Stewart's* Interest is soe great, or his Partie soe powerfull in themselves; but I feare our owne Divisions, which may be great enough, if his Highnesse should not settle and fix his Successor before he dies, which truly I beleevd he hath not yet done. He did by himselfe declare one in a Paper before he was installed by the Parliament, and sealed it up in the Forme of a Letter, directing it to me, but kept both the Name of the Person and the Paper to himselfe. After he fell sicke at *Hampton Court*, he sent Mr. *John Barrington* to London for it, tellinge hym it lay upon his Study Table at *Whitehall*; but it was not to be found there, nor elsewhere, though it hath beene very narrowly looked for. And in this Condition Matters stand, his Highnesse haveinge beene too ill to be troubled with a Buissnes of this Importance. This Day he hath had

had some Discourse about it, but his Illnes disabled hym to conclude it fully; and if it should please the Lord not to give hym tyme to settle his Succession before his Death, the Judgment would be the soarer, and our Condition the more dangerous; but I trust he will have Compassion on us, and not leave us as a Prey to our Enemies, or to one another. All Persons here are very reserved as to what they will doe, in case his Highnesse should not declare his Successor before he dyes, not beinge willinge to enterteyne any Discourse of it, either because it is a Matter too grievous to be thought of, or because they would not discover any Opinion, which might crosse his Highnesse Thoughts in his Life tyme. And this, my Lord, is the whole Account I am able to give your Lordship of this sadd Buiffines, which I am sure will occasion much Trouble and Sorrow to you; but I could not omit my Duty, judgeing it absolutely necessary, that your Excellency should understand all that passes or falls out upon this Subject, that you may the better knowe, how to direct your Prayers and Counsells, and stirre up others alsoe to pray for his Highnesse and 3 Nations in this Day of Distresse. And as any thinge further occurs (which I beseech the Lord may be for Good) I shall suddainly dispatch it away to you, and be ready to answere such Commands, as your Excellency shall lay upon me, beinge,

*Your Excellency's
most humble, faithfull,
and obedient Servant,*

Whitehall, 30 Aug. 1658.

9 o'Clock at Night.

JO. THURLOE.
LET.

LETTER LXXII.

Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell.

May it please your Excellency,

I Did by an Expreſſe upon *Munday* give your Excellency an Account of his Highneſſe Sickneſs, and the Daunger he was in. Since that it hath pleaſed God to put an end to his Days. He died Yeſterday about four of the Clock in the Afternoone. I am not able to ſpeake or write; this Stroake is ſoe ſoare. ſoe unexpected, the Providence of God in it ſoe ſtupendious, conſideringe the Perſon that is fallen, the Tyme and Season wherein God tooke hym away, with other Circumſtances, I can doe nothinge but put my Mouthe in the Duſt, and ſay, It is the Lord; and though his Wayes be not alwayes knowne, yet they are alwayes righteous, and wee muſt ſubmitt to his Will, and reſigne up ourſelves to him with all our Concernements.

His Highneſſe was pleaſed before his Death to declare my Lord *Richard* Succeſſor. He did it upon *Munday*; and the Lord hath ſoe ordered it, that the Councell and Army. hath receiv'd him with all manner of Affection. He is this Day proclaymed; and hitherto there ſeemes a great Face of Peace: the Lord continue it!

It is not to be ſayd, what Affection the Army and all People ſhew to his late Highneſſe; his

his Name is already precious. Never was there any Man soe pray'd for, as he was duringe his Sicknes, solemne Assemblies meetinge every Day, to beseech the Lord for the Continuance of his Life; soe that he is gone to Heaven, embalmed with the Teares of his People, and upon the Winges of the Prayers of the Saints. He lived desired, and dyed lamented, every body bemoaning themselves, and sayeing, *A great Man is fallen in Israel!* The Lord double his Spirit upon his Successor and upon your Excellencye, that you both may be famous in your Generation, and be helped by God with one Heart and Shoulder to carry on that Worke, the Foundations whereof your most renowned Father layed, for which Posterity will blesse hym! The Councell hath given your Excellencye an Account of what is done as to the proclayminge his Highnesse your Brother. I only herewith send the Voet of the Councell; and though I know not what will be my Portion or Condition here, yet I shall alwayes be

Your Excellencye's most humble

and obedient Servant,

4th September,
1658.

JO. THURLOE.

His Highnesse intends to send a Gentleman to
your Excellencye in the Beginninge of the
next

next Weeke, to let you understand fully the State of all things here, and of your Family; and commanded me to desire you to excuse his not writeinge by this Messenger. The Truth is, his Highnesse Death is soe soare a Stroke unto him, and he is soe sensible of it, that he is in noe Condition to write or doe yet. Here is a sad Family on all Hands: the Lord support them!

There is a Proclamation actually past for keepeinge on Foot all Commissions, which will be sent by the next; there need be noe Scruple in the mean tyme.

LETTER LXXIII.

Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell.

Deare my Lord,

THIS Bearer Mr. Underwood, brings your Lordshipp the sad News of our generall Losse in your incomparable Father's Death, by which theese poore Nations are deprived of the greatest Personage and Instrument of Happinesse, not only our owne, but indeed any Age eise ever produced. The preceding Night, and not before, in Presence of 4 or 5 of the Councell, he declared my Lord Richard his Successor; the next Morning grew speechlesse, and departed betwixt 3 and 4 in the Evening.

ing. A hard Dispensation it was, but so it has seemed good to the allwise God; and what remaines to poor Creatures, but to lay our Hands upon our Mouthes to the Declaration of his Pleasure? Some 3 Houres after his Decease, (a time spent only in frameing the Draught, not in any doubtfull Dispute) was your Lordshipp's Brother, his now Highnesse, declared Protector of thez Nations, with full Consent of Counsell, Soldier, and City. The next Day he was proclaimed in the usuall Places. All the time his late Highnes was drawing on to his End, the Consternation and Astonishment of People is unexpressible: their Harts seemed as sunke within them. And if this abroad in the Family, your Lordshipp may imagine, what it was in her Highnes and other neer Relations. My poor Wife, I knowe not what in the Earth to do with her; when seemingly quieted, she bursts out again into Passion, that tears her very Hart in Peeces; nor can I blame her, considering what she has lost. It fares little better with others. God, I trust, will sanctifye this bitter Cup to us all. His Mercy is extraordinary, as to the quiet Face of Things among us, which I hope the Lord will continue. I am

Your Lordshipp's

most affectionately faithfull

and very humble Servant,

Whitehall, September
the 7th, 1658. [N.S.]

FAUCONBERG.

LET-

LETTER LXXIV.

Henry Cromwell to Lord Faulconberg.

September 8, 1658.

My Lord,

ALTHOUGH the last Letters brought a very sad Memento of Mortality, yet I was not well enough prepared to receive yours by this Post, without (it may be) too much Consternation. I know the highest Greifes arising from my natural Affection to my dear Father ought so farr to give way, as to let me remember my present Station; but I see more of this kind, then I am able to practice; and truly when I recollect myself, and consider the desperate Distractions which so nearly threaten us, I am quite lost in the Way to the Remedy. For I may truly tell your Lordshipp, that either through the Design or Unfaithfulness of my Friends, or through their Ignorance and Incompetency for a Work of that Nature, I have never been acquainted with the Inside either of Things or Persons, but sob'd off with Intelligence, about as much differing from *Mabbot*, as he from a *Diurnall*; so that I can contribute little to prevent our
Danger,

Danger, more than by my Prayers, and keeping the Army and People under my Charge in a good Frame: I wish yours may be so kept in *England*. Methinks some begin their Meetings very early. It may be they intend to give the Law; but if they do not keep to what is honest, they may meet with Disappointments. I do heartily thank your Lordshipp for your Freedom and Confidence in me. I am sure I cannot plead Meritt, but shall be glad to cherish that Sympathy, or whatever else it is, that makes me yours. I hope I shall be always just to your Lordshipp. Some late Letters do a little revive us, and give Hopes of his Highness's Recovery; yet my Trouble is exceeding great. I remain, &c.

LETTER LXXV.

Henry Cromwell to Secretary Thurloe.

S I R,

YESTERDAY in the Forenoon the Messenger arrived with the sad Tidings of his Highness's Death. In the Afternoon my Brother was proclaimed his Successor. I send you herewith the Proclamation, subscribed by myselfe, and the Councell, and such of the Nobility, Judges, Officers of the Army, and Gentlemen of Quality, as were in the Town, and present when it was produced for signing.

ing. You may guess at my Condition, and how hard a thing it was within an hower to put off my Greife for my dear Father, to give Directions for a Matter of Solemnity; but the Peace of the Nation, my Love and Tendernefs to my deare Brother, I should now say my Duty to the cheife Magistrate, made me cast myselfe before the Lord, and begg earnestly for a Support, and God heard my Prayer. I went in Person to make the Proclamation, and therefore am able to assure you, that it was performed, not only with the greatest Solemnity this Place could afford, but with very great Shouts and Acclamations of Joy, which I am perswaded came from the Hearts of the People. This Morning I caused the Officers of the Army to attend me; and having at large acquainted them with the State of our Affaires, and their Duty, left them together to consider of what I had said, and to offer me their Thoughts. They returned an unanimous Desire to me, that I wou'd assure his Highness of their cheerful Obedience and Faithfullness to his Highness to the uttermost; and that they would suddainly give more Testimony of it by their acting in their severall Places. Indeed their Temper seems to me at this time better then what I could have expected. I have commanded them all to their respective Charges, to preserve Things the surer, and to see the Proclamation (which are also printed, and this Evening sent through the Nation) published with the more Solemnity, and the Acclamations of the Soldiers. I intend this Evening a Dispatch to General *Monke*, to acquaint him with our Unanimity to strenthen

his Hands, if he be in any Streight. Pray present my humble Duty to his Highness, and acquaint him with this. I hope God will enable him to beare his Greife. If he sinke under it, wee perish; for how can the Sheep be safe, unless the Sheapheard watch?

Let her Highness, my deare Mother, know, that my Affliction is doubled, when I thinke of her Condition. Pray God comfort her. I doe pray for her, and I shall not cease, but shall continue her obedient and affectionate Son, whilst I live. I shall not tell you how unexpressible my Greife is. God knows what is in the Womb of this severe Stroke. I am loath to give way to my own Fears. It is from his Hand, and wee must submit. The Lord help us! I rest

Your affectionat Friend,

and humble Servant,

Dublin, 11th
Sept. 1658.

H. CROMWELL.

L E T T E R LXXVI.

Lord Broghill to Secretary Thurloe.

Deare Sir,

TH O' I did on *Munday* last trouble you with a Letter, yet haveinge now also received the Honnor of another from you of the 7th Instant, I could not but pay you my humble

ble and harty Acknowledgments for it, and that in such a deepe Affliction as that you are under, and that Load of Business you support, you can yet oblige with your Letters a Person soe unworthy of them, and soe insignificant as I am. Your last is so expresse a Picture of Sorrow, that none could draw it soe well, that did not feele it. I know our late Loss wounds deeply both the Publike and yourselfe, and yourselfe more upon the publike Accounte then your owne. But I thinke Sorrow for Frinds is more tollerable, while they are a dyinge, then after they are deade. *David's* Servants reasoned as ill, as he himselfe did well; they concluded, if his Griefe were such, when the Child was but in Danger of Death, what would it be, when he knew 'twas ded? He tooke and consider'd the Thinge another way; whilst ther was Life, that is, whilst the Will of God was not declared, he thought it a Duty to endeavor to moove the Mercy of God by his Prayers and Sorrow; but when God's Pleasure was declared, he knew 'twas a Duty cheerfully to yeeld unto it. I know, in the Cause of Griefe now before us, I am the unfittest of any to offer Comfort, which I neede as much as any; and I know 'tis as unfitt to offer to present it you, who, as you neede it most of any, soe you are ablest to afford it others above any: however, this one Consideration of *David's* Actings I could not but lay before you, it having proved an effectual Consolation to me in the Death of one I but too much loved. But I hope your Sorrow for what is past does not drowne your Care for what is to com; nay, I am confident of it; for you, that can in your Sorrow and Business minde

me, makes me know your Griefe hinders us not from injoying the accustomed Effects of your Care to the Publike; and while what we pay the Dead does not obstruct what we owe the Livinge, such Sorrow is a Debt, and not a Fault.

In this Nation his Highness has bin proclaymed in most of the considerable Places alreddy, and in others he is dayly a proclayminge, and indeede with signall Demonstrations of Love to his Person, and of hope of Happyness under his Government.

I hartily joyne in all the Good you say of him, and hope with you he wil be happy, if his Frinds stick to him: amongst all thos I know you will, and I know all Promises with me are not kept, if you are not reckoned by him in the first Ranke; of which I have presumed to minde him in a Letter I tooke the Confidence to write unto him this Weeke.

But I feare, while I thus trouble you, I give the Honnor of your Letters a very disproportionat Returne; and therefore I will only now subscribe myself, what I am from the Bottom of my Heart,

Deare Sir,

Your most humble,

most faithfull,

and most obliged

affectionate Servant,

*Ballymalla, the 17th of
September, 1658.*

BROGHILL.

L E T-

LETTER LXXVII.

Henry Cromwell to Richard Cromwell,
Protector.

Sept. 28. 1658.

May it please your Highness,

I Received a Letter from your Highness by Mr. Underwood, who, according to your Comands, hath given me a particular Account of the Sickness and Death of his late Highness my dear Father, which was such an amazing Stroke, that it did deeply affect the Heart of every Man; much more may it doe those of a nearer Relation. And indeed, for my own Part, I am so astonish'd at it, that I know not what to say or write upon this so sad and grievous Occasion. I know it is our Duties upon all Accounts to give Submission to the Will of God, and to be awakened by this mighty Noise from the Lord to look into our own Hearts and Wayes, and to put our Mouths in the Dust, acknowledging our own Vileness and Sinfulness before him; that so, if possible, we may thereby yet obtain Mercy from him for ourselves and these poor Nations. As this Stroke was very stupendous, so the happy News of his late Highness leaving us so hopefull a Foundation for our future Peace, in appointing your Highness his Successor, coming along with it to us, did not a little allay the other. For

my Part, I can truly say, I was relieved by it, not only upon the public Consideration, but even upon the Account of the Goodness of God to our poor Family, who hath preserved us from the Contempt of our Enemy. I gave a late Account to Mr. Secretary *Thurloe* of what passed about the proclaiming your Highness here, which, I may say without Vanity, was with as great Joy and general Satisfaction, as (I believe) in the best affected Places in *England*. I doubt not but to give your Highness as good an Account of the rest of the Places in *Ireland*, so soon as the Proclamations are returned. I did also give some Account of the speedy Compliance of the Army, whose Obedience your Highness may justly require at my Hands. Now, that the God and Father of your late Father and mine, and your Highness's Predecessor, would support you, and by pouring down a double Portion of the same Spirit which was so eminently upon him, would enable you to walk in his Steps, and to do worthily for his Name, Cause, and People, and continually preserve you in so doing, is and shall be the fervent and dayly Prayer of

Yours, &c.

L E T-

LETTER LXXVIII.

Henry Cromwell to Richard Cromwell,
Protector.

May it please your Highness,

I Sent a Letter to Secretary *Thurloe*, dated the 11th Instant, to be communicated to your Highness; judging it not very seasonable in so great and fresh a Grief to address myself to your Highness, without leaving it to the Discretion of somebody upon the Place, to chuse the fittest Opportunity. And in Confidence of your Highness's Privy to that, to which I refer, I proceed further humbly to acquaint your Highness, that on *Monday* Morning I caused an Address (a Copy whereof is enclosed) to be sent throughout the whole Army, which is already signed by divers Field Officers; and when it is perfected, I intend to send it, to remain in your Highness's Hands, as a Witness against the Treachery and Falshood of any Officer of this Army, that may hereafter in the least Manner warp from his due Obedience; so that I may and do assure your Highness of the faithfull and active Subjection of this Army to your Highness's Government, and shall be content to answer it with my Life if you find it otherwise. By my above said Letter and this, your Highness may perceive, that I lost no Time; and also, that I used what Diligence and Industry I could, according to my bounden Duty, to make your

Highness's Entrance easy, and your Government established. Since this I received an Express from your Highness by Mr. *Underwood*, in which your Highness is graciously pleased to do me the great Honor, as to offer me the Charge, which I underwent in his late Highness my late Father's Life-time, for which I return my most humble and hearty Thanks; but must humbly beg, that I may deal faithfully, plainly, and freely with your Highness, touching this Particular. Since his late Highness was pleased to place me in this Station, I have met with nothing but Toil and Disquiet of Body and Mind, and have thereby so exceedingly impaired my Health, that is not possible for me to undergoe the like any longer. His late Highness was indeed pleased to favour me, and bear me out as much as he well could; but was beset with so many, who made it their Business to encrease my Burthen, that he was wrought upon to put Mr. *Goodwin* disgracefully out of the Councill, only for being faithful to me; I say, only for that, because I wrote many Letters to know the Cause, but could hear none. They prevailed with him to modell the Councill, so that the major Part were Men of a professed Spirit of Contradiction to whatsoever I would have, and took Counsell together, how to lay wait for me without a Cause. They so far prevailed, that if any Officer could revile and clamour against me, he was received and preferred there; and they undertook to reduce the Army by such Rules, as would render me odious, and were preposterous and absurd here, though proper for an Army in *England*; and were so farr from asking my Opinion, (tho' I was

I was a little concerned) that when I obtruded it, I could get no Reply of Reasons, but magisteriall Rules, which I must obey. Why should I enumerate, when I consider how little Time your Highness hath to spare. In short, my Life was made a Burthen; and had I not owed a naturall and filiall Obedience, as well as a full Subjection to his late Highness, I could not willingly have undergone it. I humbly beg your Highness's Pardon for what I am about to say: I may not, unless your Highness commands me against my will, and condemns me to my Grave, any longer undergoe the Charge I did in your Father's Life-time. I am not able to live always in the Fire; the great God, in whose Presence I speak this, he knows my Heart. I doe not this out of any froward Humour, neither am I so vain as to design being courted; I am willing, nay desirous to spend my small Talent, whatsoever it is, in your Highness's Service, so my Task may be no more than I am able to perform. But I can hardly submit to a Combination of pragmatistical Men, who as they will endeavour to impose on your Highness, as they did upon his late Highness, so I may justly fear they will think it the nearest Way to their Ends, to misrepresent me to your Highness, whose good Esteem and Affection I value above any thing in this World, and which I will not hazard at any Rate. 'Tis hard to express my Mind by writing, unless I should swell a Letter to a Volume; and besides, I have much to say, which is not fitt to be written. I know noe Expedient in the Case, but this (which I doe not offerr without due Consideration of the Safety of the

Army in my Absence) that your Highness would give me Leave to attend you in Person for some short Time, where I doubt not but by Conference I shall give your Highness abundant Testimony of my dutifull Obedience to your Highness, and of my Readiness and hearty Desire to serve you, and of the Wayes and Means which might capacitate me thereunto. For to say Truth, it were a treasonable Folly for me to undertake a Service, which I beforehand knew I have not Strength either of Body or Understanding to manage to your Highness Advantage. Besides, I desire to be instructed from your Highness's own Mouth, by what Principles I should steer, lest I should ignorantly doe any thing which might justly displease; and indeed I doe not dissemble, if I say Change of Air and some Recess is necessary for my Health, which is the more dear to me, because I seldom enjoy it 24 Hours together. Thus I do faithfully spread my Cause at your Highness's Feet: if your Highness think not fitt to hearken unto my Petition, I shall keep the Army in due Obedience, and deliver it to whomsoever your Highness shall committ the Charge thereof, and be truly thankfull for that Protection which you allow to the meanest of your Highness's Subjects, and publickly profess entire Love and tender Affection to you, as my Brother, Allegiance and perfect Subjection and Obedience to your Highness, as my rightfull and undoubted supreme Magistrate, and continually pray to God for your long Life, and prosperous and happy Reign, &c.

L E T.

LETTER LXXIX.

John Barwick to Charles II.

I Am too short-sighted to write of State Affaires, and yet, having this Opportunity, I think it my Duty to give your Majesty some Account of what I conceive the present Condition of Affaires are. About a Week before *Cromwell's* Death; he made his Son *Richard* Generalissimo of all the Forces both by Sea and Land; but it was not till the very Day before he dyed, that he nominated him his Successor, and that so sleightly, as some doubt whether he did it all. It was justly expected by all Men, that a Matter of such Weight should not be done without a formall Instrument under Hand and Seal before the Council, &c. but those that speak the highest of this, say it was only verball, before *Thurloe* and one of the Commissioners of the great Seall; and those that duly ponder the Proclamation, will have Cause to think the Penner of it did not believe so much. And though hitherto Things pass with some Smoothness in the former Channel, yet there is some underhand Muttering already upon this Poynt of his Succession, which makes them dread the very Name of a Parliament, and yet they are upon the very Poynt of being forced to call one for want of Money. Their Debts are great, and no other visible Way of raising any competent Summe. Whether this be the Cause,

or

or his so tamely parting with the Generallship of *England*, at least to *Fleetwood*, or both, of young *Cromwell's* Melancholie, I know not; but sure it is, most Men say he is sick; and yet those, that are likest to know the Disease, say, it is chiefly to give way to his Counsell to doe what they please, which some of them like well enough. There was some Confusion at *Whitehall* the Night before *Cromwell's* Death, though closely conveyed. Some of the *Grandees* distrusting the Place, removed their Trunks out of the House. At least six Hours before his Death, the Fifth-Monarchie-Men sent out their Emis-saries post into most Parts of *England*, having Notice how desperate his Condition was. They speak their Minds freely already, and have something a brewing in all Likelyhood. They have pitched upon *Lambert* for their General, and *Harrison* is content with the next Command under him. Ever since old *Cromwell* had his Eye upon the Crown, he hath courted *Lambert* very much. One Office he had was restored, with 2000 *l.* Arrears, and his Estate was promised to be doubled from 3000 *l.* per annum to six; and still they carry fair with him, and have sent him Mourning against the Funerall. The want of Money makes them fall short of their first Designe of the Funerall Pageantrie. At first they proposed to themselves the Funerall of *K. James* for their Pattern, and intended to go beyond it; but second Thoughts are wiser. If a Parliament come, the Fifth-Monarchie-Men will cut them out Worke both in the House and Field. They hope *Fleetwood* will be no bitter Enemy; and give out, as if they had *Monck's* Army sure on their Side, though not his Person.

son. If they have not learned the . . . of
 Bragging, there may be some Cause of Fear,
 least they get . . . the Saddle; and ride us
 all; yet some of them say your Majesty will
 need no other Sword but their own to make
 way to your Throne, in case they clash in ear-
 nest; for the weaker Party will espouse your
 Majestie's Case, and that upon your owne
 Termes, rather than yield to the other. I wish
 they may be true Prophets. And I humbly crave
 Leave to add, that some Persons here of good
 Repute for Wisdome and Fidelity to your Ma-
 jesty think this will be more sensible, if your own
 Party be not too forward to ingage on either
 Side; and seeing your Majesty having now no
 visible Force on foot, will make them more
 secure, and consequently the more likely to
 quarrell among themselves. I beseech your Ma-
 jestie pardon this Boldness. I was never cut
 out for a Statesman. If there be any thing
 in it of Moment, your Majestie's Wisdome
 may make use of it; if nothing, I hope your
 Clemency will pardon it. That God would
 direct your Majestie's Counsells, protect your
 Person, and prosper your Designes, is a Part
 of the dayly Prayer of

Your Majestie's

obscure, but most loyall and

faithfull Servant,

J. B.

The

The great stormy *Munday*, *Cromwell* (upon a Revelation they say) told his Physicians, he should now live to perfect the Work. At his Death, he had no Sinne, that troubled him, but only his Want of Faith. By Faith, I presume, he meant (as the Divines of that Party doe) a full Assurance of Remission of Sinns, and eternal Salvation; and then it was no wonder he wanted it.

L E T T E R LXXX.

Henry Cromwell to Fleetwood.

Dear Brother,

I Received the Account you give of the Petition of your Officers, for which I give you Thanks, and especially for your Caution, that I should not believe any thing concerning you, till I had heard you. Truly it was seasonable Advice; for I am told strange things: and pray give me Leave to expostulate with you. How came these 2 or 300 Officers together? If they came of their own Heads, the being absent from their Charge without Licence would have flown in their Face, when they petitioned for a due Observance of Martiall Discipline. If they were called together, were they not also taught what to say and do? If they were called, was it with his Highness's Privy? If they met without Leave in so great a Number, were they told their Error? I shall not meddle with the Matter of their Petition, though

though some things in it do unhandsomely reflect, not only upon his present, but his late Highness. I wish with all my Heart, you were Commander in chief of all the Forces in the three Nations; but I had rather have it done by his Highness's especiall Grace and meer Motion, than put upon you in a tumultuary unsoldierly Way. But, dear Brother, I must tell you (and I cannot do it without Tears) I hear, that Dirt was thrown upon his late Highness at that great Meeting. They were exhorted to stand up for that good old Cause, which had long lain asleep, &c. I thought, my dear Father had pursued it to the last. He dyed like a Servant of God, and prayed for those that desired to trample upon his Dust, for they were also God's People. O dear Brother! let us not render Evil for Good; let us not make his Memory stink, before he is under Ground: let us remember his last Legacy, and even for his Sake render his Successor considerable, and not make him vile, a Thing of nought, and a By-word. O! whither do these things tend! Surely God hath a Controversy with us. What a Hurly-burly is there made! a 100 independent Ministers called together! a Council, as you call it, of 2 or 300 Officers of a Judgment! Remember what has always befallen imposing Spiritts. Will not the Loins of an imposing Independent or Anabaptist, be as heavy as the Loins of an imposing Prelate or Presbyter? And is it a dangerous Error, that Dominion is founded in Grace, when it is held by the Church of *Rome*, and a sound Principle, when it is held by the Fifth Monarchy? Dear Brother, let us not fall into the Sins of other
Men.

Men, lest we partake of their Plagues. Let it be so carryed, that all the People of God, though under different Forms, yea, even those whom you count without, may enjoy their Birth-right and civil Liberty, and that no one Party may tread upon the Neck of another. It doth not become the Magistrate to descend into Parties; but can the Things you do, tend to this End? Can those things be done, and the World not think his Highness a Knave or a Fool, or oppressed with mutinous Spirits? O dear Brother, my Spirit is sorely oppressed with the Consideration of the miserable Estate of the innocent People of these three poor Nations! What have these Sheep done, that their Blood should be the Price of our Lust and Ambition? Let me beg of you to remember, how his late Highness loved you, how he honoured you with the highest Trust in the World by leaving the Sword in your Hand, which must defend or destroy us; and his declaring his Highness his Successor shews, that he left it there to preserve him and his Reputation. O Brother, use it to curb extravagant Spirits, and busy Bodys, but let not the Nations be governed by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary Power. Let us be governed by the known Laws of the Land, and let all things be kept in their proper Channels; and let the Army be so governed, that the World may never hear of them, unless there be Occasion to fight. And truly, Brother, you must pardon me, if I say, God and Man may require this Duty at your Hand, and lay all Miscarriages in the Army, in Point of Discipline, at your Door. You see I deal freely and plainly with you, as be-

becomes your Friend, and a good Subject. And the great God, in whose Presence I speak this, he knows, that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my tender Affection and Faithfulness to you; and you may rest assured, that you shall always find me

Your true Friend,

and loving Brother.

Oct. 20, 1658.

H. CROMWELL.

LETTER LXXXI.

Henry Cromwell to Lord Chancellor Chandon.

May it please your Lordship.

WHEN the Declaration was framing, I did abhor to bee so unreasonable as to seeke any particular Provision for my self in it. But when I saw my self secured with the Multitude, and when his Majesty by his special Letters and Promises declared, that though I had indeed scaped in the Crowd, yet that hee had a particular Mercy for mee; and when I saw hee could not bee prevailed upon
to

to unsettle others, who perhaps (abating my Name) were greater Offenders, I did then presume to insist upon that his Mercy, nor could I believe (with some) that my foe doing was dishonorable unto his Majesty. And your Lordship (being above making an Interest by trampling upon the Fallen, or by being bitter against Things, that came to pass by God's secret Providence) have most nobly and Christianly patronized me in it, even to Success; and for this in a few Words I give your Lordship my eternall Thanks and Prayers.

I might, perhaps, have better expressed these my Sentiments some other way; yet I have presumed to doe it thus by a Letter, that there may remayne a Testimony of Infamy upon mee, if ever I abuse the admirable Mercy I have found, either by future Disloyalty to his Majesty, or Ingratitude to your Lordship. And I wish your Lordship would add one Favour more, which is to assure his most excellent Majesty, and his royal Highnes (how hard, or needless soever it bee to beleieve me) that few can wish their royall Persons, Family, or Interest, more Prosperity and Establishment, then doth,

May it please your Lordship,

Your Lordship's most obedient, most humble,

and most obliged Servant,

April 9th, 1662.

H. CROMWELL.

L E T-

L E T T E R LXXXII.

Earl of L—— to the Hon. Algernoon Sidney.

D Ifuse of Writing has made it uneasie to me, Age makes it hard, and the Weakness of Sight and Hand makes it almost impossible. This may excuse me to *every body*, and particularly to *you*, who have not invited me much unto it, but rather have given me cause to think, that you were willing to save me the Labour of writing, and yourself the Trouble of reading my Letters: for, after you had left me sick, solitary and sad at *Penshurst*, and that you had resolved to undertake the Employment wherein you have lately been, you neither came to give me a *Farewel*, nor did so much as send one to me, but only writ a wrangling Letter or two concerning Mony, and *Hoskins*, and Sir Robert Honywood's Horse: And tho' both before and after your going out of *England*, you writ to divers other Persons; the first Letter that I received from you, was dated, as I remember, the 13th of *September*; the second in *November*, wherein you take Notice of your Mother's Death; and if there were one more, that was all, until Mr. *Sterry* came, who made such haste from *Penshurst*, that coming very late at Night, he would not stay to dine the next Day, nor to give me time to write. It is true, that since the Change of Affairs here, and of your Condition there, your Letters have been more frequent; and if I had not thought my Silence better both for you and myself, I would have written more than once or twice unto you; but tho' for some Reasons I did forbear,

I

I failed not to desire others to write unto you, and with their own, to convey the best Advice that my little Intelligence and weak Judgment could afford; particularly not to expect new Authorities nor Orders from hence, not to stay in any of the Places of your Negotiation; not to come into *England*, much less to expect a Ship to be sent for you, or to think that an Account was, or would be expected of you here, unless it were of Matters very different from your Transactions there: that it would be best for you presently to divest yourself of the Character of a public Minister; to dismiss all your Train, and to retire into some safe Place, not very near, nor very far from *England*, that you might hear from your Friends sometimes. And for this I advised *Hamburgh*, where I hear you are, by your Man *Powel*, or by them that have received Letters from you, with Presents of Wine and Fish, which I do not reproach nor envy.

Your last Letter to me had no date of Time or Place; but by another at the same time to *Sir John Temple*, of the 28th of *July*, as I remember, sent by *Mr. Missenden*, I guess that mine was of the same Date. By those that I have had, I perceive that you have been misadvised; for though I met with no Effects nor Marks of Displeasure, yet I find no such Tokens or Fruits of Favour, as may give me either Power or Credit for those Undertakings and good Offices, which perhaps you expect of me.

And now I am again upon the Point of retiring to my poor Habitation, having for myself no other Design, than to pass the small Remainder of my Days innocently and quietly; and if it please God, to be gathered in Peace to my Fathers.

And

And concerning you, what to resolve in myself, or what to advise you, truly I know not; for you must give me leave to remember, of how little Weight my Opinions and Counsels have been with you, and how unkindly and unfriendly you have rejected those Exhortations and Admonitions, which in much Affection and Kindness I have given you upon many Occasions, and in almost every thing, from the Highest to the Lowest, that hath concerned you; and this you may think sufficient to discourage me from putting my Advices into the like Danger; yet somewhat I will say: and first, I think it unfit, and (perhaps) as yet unsafe for you to come into *England*; for, I believe, *Powel* hath told you that he heard, when he was here, *That you were likely to be excepted out of the general Act of Pardon and Oblivion*: and though I know not what you have done or said here or there, yet I have several ways heard, that there is as ill an Opinion of you as of any, even of those that condemned the late King: and when I thought there was no other Exception to you, than your being of the other Party, I spoke to the General in your Behalf; who told me, that very ill Offices had been done you, but he would assist you as much as justly he could; and I intended then also to speak to somebody else; you may guess whom I mean: but since that, I have heard such things of you, that in the Doubtfulness only of their being true, no Man will open his Mouth for you. I will tell you some Passages, and you shall do well to clear yourself of them. It is said, that the University of *Copenhagen* brought their *Album* unto you, desiring you to write something therein, and that you did scribe in *alba* these Words,

Manus

*Manus hæc inimica Tyrannis,
Ense petit placida cum Libertate quietem ;*

And put your Name to it. This cannot chuse but be publickly known, if it be true. It is said also, that a Minister, who hath married a Lady *Laurence* here of *Chelsey*, but now dwelling at *Copenhagen*, being there in Company with you, said, I think you were none of the late King's Judges, nor guilty of his Death, meaning our King. *Guilty!* said you; *Do you call that Guilt? Why, 'twas the justest and bravest Action that ever was done in England, or any where else;* with other Words to the same Effect. It is said also, that you having heard of a Design to seize upon you, or to cause you to be taken Prisoner, you took notice of it to the King of *Denmark* himself, and said, *I hear there is a Design to seize upon me: but who is it that hath that Design? Est-ce nostre Bandit.* By which you are understood to mean the King.

Besides this, it is reported, that you have been heard to say many scornful and contemptuous things of the King's Person and Family; which unless you can justify yourself, will hardly be forgiven or forgotten: for, such personal Offences make deeper Impressions than public Actions either of War or Treaty. Here is a Resident, as he calls himself, of the King of *Denmark*, whose Name (as I hear) is *Pedcombe*; he hath visited me, and offered his Readiness to give you any Assistance in his Power or Credit with the Ambassador, Mr. *Alfeld*, who was then expected, and is now arrived here, and hath had his first Audience. I have not seen Mr. *Pedcombe* since; but, within a few Days, I will put him

him in mind of his Profession of Friendship to you, and try what he can or will do. Sir *Robert Honeywood* is also come hither; and, as I hear, the King is graciously pleased to admit him to his Presence, which will be somewhat the better for you, because then the Exceptions against your Employment and Negotiation, wherein you were Colleague, will be removed; and you will have no more to answer for, than your own particular Behaviour. I believe Sir *Robert Honeywood* will be industrious enough to procure Satisfaction to the Merchants in the Business of *Money*, wherein he will have the Assistance of Sir *John Temple*; to whom I refer you, for that, and some other things.

I have little to say to your Complaints of your Sister *Strayford's* unequal Returns to your Affection and Kindness, but that I am sorry for it, and that you are well enough served, for bestowing so much of your Care where it was not due, and neglecting them to whom it was due, and I hope you will be wiser hereafter. She and her Husband have not yet paid the thousand Pounds, whereof you are to have your Part by my Gift; for so, I think, you are to understand it, though your Mother desired it; and if for the Payment thereof, your being in *England*, or in some Place not far off, be necessary, as some pretend, for the sealing of some Writings, I think that, and other Reasons, sufficient to persuade you to stay a while where you are, that you may hear frequently from your Friends, and they from you. I am wholly against your going into *Italy* as yet, till more may be known of your Condition; which, for the present, is hard; and I confess, that I do not yet see any more than this, that
either

either you must live in Exile, or very privately here; and (perhaps) not safely; for though the Bill of *Indemnity* be lately passed, yet if there be any particular and great Displeasure against you, as I fear there is, you may feel the Effects thereof from the higher Powers, and receive Affronts from the inferiour: therefore you were best to stay at *Hamburg*; which, for a Northern Situation, is a good Place, and healthful. I will help you as much as I can in discovering and informing you of what concerns you; though, as I began, so I must end, with telling you, that Writing is now grown troublesome to

Your affectionate,

London, Aug. 30,
1660.

LE —.

L E T T E R LXXXIII.

The Hon. Algernoon Sidney to his Friends.

S I R,

I Am sorry I cannot in all things conform myself to the Advices of my Friends; if theirs had any joint Concernment with mine, I would willingly submit my Interest to theirs; but when I alone am interested, and they only advise me to come over as soon as the Act of Indemnity is passed, because they think it is best for me, I cannot wholly lay aside my own Judgment and Choice. I confess, we are naturally inclined to delight in our own Country, and I have a particular Love to mine; and I hope I have given some Testimony of it. I think that being exiled from it is a great Evil, and would redeem myself

from it with the Loss of a great deal of my Blood : But when that Country of mine, which used to be esteemed a Paradise, is now like to be made a Stage of Injury ; the Liberty which we hoped to establish oppressed, all manner of Profaneness, Looseness, Luxury, and Lowdness set up in its Height ; instead of Piety, Virtue, Sobriety, and Modesty, which we hoped God, by our Hands, would have introduced ; the best of our Nation made a Prey to the worst ; the Parliament, Court, and Army corrupted, the People enslaved, all things vendible, and no Man safe, but by such evil and infamous means as Flattery and Bribery ; what Joy can I have in my own Country in this Condition ? Is it a Pleasure to see all that I love in the World, sold and destroyed ? Shall I renounce all my old Principles, learn the vile Court Arts, and make my Peace by bribing some of them ? Shall their Corruption and Vice be my Safety ? Ah ! No ! Better is a Life among Strangers, than in my own Country upon such Conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my Liberty ; or, at least, not content to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same Principle in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. I have in my Life been guilty of many Follies, but, as I think of no meanness, I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the Future. I have ever had in my Mind, that when God should cast me into such a Condition, as that I cannot save my Life, but by doing an indecent Thing, he shews me the Time is come wherein I should resign it. And when I cannot live in my own Country, but by such Means as are worse than dying in it, I think he

shews me, I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the King glorious, who think a whole People may justly be sacrificed for the Interest and Pleasure of one Man, and a few of his Followers: let them rejoice in their Subtilty, who by betraying the former Powers, have gain'd the Favour of this, not only preserv'd, but advanc'd themselves in these dangerous Changes. Nevertheless (perhaps) they may find the King's Glory is their Shame, his Plenty the Peoples Misery; and that the gaining of an Office, or a little Money, is a poor Reward for destroying a Nation! (which if it were preserv'd in Liberty and Virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the World) and that others may find they have, with much Pains, purchas'd their own Shame and Misery, a dear Price paid for that which is not worth keeping, nor the Life that is accompanied with it: the Honour of *English* Parliaments have ever been in making the Nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the Interest of it, to satisfy the Lusts of one Man. Miserable Nation! that, from so great a Height of Glory, is fallen into the most despicable Condition in the World, of having all its Good depending upon the Breath and Will of the vilest Persons in it! cheated and sold by them they trusted! Infamous Traffick, equal almost in Guilt to that of *Judas*! In all preceding Ages, Parliaments have been the Pillars of our Liberty, the sure Defenders of the Oppressed: they, who formerly could bridle Kings, and keep the Balance equal between them and the People, are now become the Instruments of all our Oppressions, and a Sword in his Hand to destroy us: they themselves led by a few interested Persons,

who

who are willing to buy Offices by themselves by the Misery of the whole Nation, and the Blood of the most worthy and eminent Persons in it. Detestable Bribes, worse than the Oaths now in Fashion in this mercenary Court! I mean to owe neither my Life nor Liberty to any such Means; when the Innocence of my Action will not protect me, I will stay away till the Storm be overpassed. In short, where *Vane*, *Lambert* and *Hastlerigg* cannot live in Safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in *England*, I should have expected a Lodging with them: or, tho' they may be the first, as being more eminent than I, I must expect to follow their Example, in suffering, as I have been their Companion in acting. I am most in amaze at the mistaken Informations that were sent to me by my Friends, full of Expectations, of Favours, and Employments. Who can think, that they, who imprison them, would employ me, or suffer me to live, when they are put to Death? If I might live, and be employ'd, can it be expected that I should serve a Government that seeks such detestable Ways of establishing itself? Ah! no; I have not learnt to make my own Peace, by persecuting and betraying my Brethren, more innocent and worthy than myself. I must live by just Means, and serve to just Ends, or not at all, after such a Manifestation of the Ways by which it is intended the King shall govern. I should have renounced any Place of Favour into which the Kindness and Industry of my Friends might have advanc'd me, when I found those that were better than I, were only fit to be destroy'd. I had formerly some Jealousies, the fraudulent Proclamation for Indemnity increased the Imprisonment of those three Men; and turning out

of all the Officers of the Army, contrary to Promise, confirm'd me in my Resolutions, not to return.

To conclude: the Tide is not to be diverted, nor the Oppress'd deliver'd; but God, in his Time, will have Mercy on his People; he will save and defend them, and avenge the Blood of those who shall now perish, upon the Heads of those, who, in their Pride, think nothing is able to oppose them. Happy are those whom God shall make Instruments of his Justice in so blessed a Work. If I can live to see that Day, I shall be ripe for the Grave, and able to say with Joy, *Lord! now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace, &c.* [So Sir Arthur Haslerigg on Oliver's Death.] Farewel my Thoughts, as to King and State, depending upon their Actions. No Man shall be a more faithful Servant to him than I, if he make the Good and Prosperity of his People his Glory; none more his Enemy, if he doth the contrary. To my particular Friends I shall be constant in all Occasions, and to you

A most affectionate Servant,

A. SIDNEY.

L E T.

LETTER LXXXIV.

Sir William Temple to Sir William Coventry.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge both the Honour and Obligation I received by yours of November the 9th; the last of which seems so great in that Light you give it, and by those Circumstances I now see attend it, that had it come from any other Hands I should have wished a thousand times never to have received it: for, there are very few I desire much to be obliged to; having always thought that a sort of Debt which ought as duly to be paid as that of Money, with more Interest, and much greater Difficulty of casting up. But knowing that all generous Persons are apt to favour and esteem their own, rather such whom they oblige, than such as serve them; I am extremely glad to have my Name enter into the Knowledge of his Royal Highness, by his Bounty and Favour in the Grant of those Passports, rather than any other way I could have taken; and beg of you, that with my humble Thanks, his Royal Highness may know I enter into his Service with this Advance of Wages, which it shall be always my Endeavour, as it is my Duty, to deserve. I owe, and should say a great deal to yourself upon this Occasion, but that with my Thanks for the Thing

itself, I am to join my Complaints for the Manner of it: I mean, that you should trouble yourself to reason me out of any Custom or Action you would have me leave off, or say any thing upon such a Subject, besides, that you wish it had been otherwise; which I desire you to believe, shall in far greater Matters be from your Hand Persuasion and Command enough to me. My Presumptions may be great with my Friends, but they are the easiliest check'd of any Man's alive; which is all I shall say upon this Occasion as to the future; and for the past, I will only assure you that I should not in the least have offered at what I did, had it not been at the earnest Instance of the Prince of *Munster's* Resident here; and I am to make it my Business abroad, to enter as far as I can into the Secrets, and for that end, into the Affections of such Ministers as I have to deal with; and as some Men are to be gained directly by their Heart, so are others by their Hands: but another Fault were easier to be borne than a long Excuse; I will not add to it by our News, since, of all I write, I am sure you know as much as you please: only, in general, our Bishop loses not Courage nor Strength upon all the great Preparations of Enemies, or Disappointment of Friends. The *Dutch* seem to be plagued by their own God, and to grow unhappy in their own Element, the Sea having done them in the last Storms most extravagant Harms; some Letters from *Amsterdam* say to the Value of thirty, and others, of sixty Millions; their Case may grow harder yet, if the Frosts do so from the *Munster* side. Our Court here is passionate
towards.

towards the League between the two Crowns;
as I am in the Desires of growing in your
Friendship and Favour, and deserving it by any
Testimonies I can give of my being,

S-I R,

Your most faithful,

Brussels, Dec. 15,
S. N. 1665,

humble Servant.

LETTER LXXXV.

Sir William Temple to Dame Augustine
Cary.

Madam,

I Know not whether the Shame of having
been so long in your Debt, be greater than
that of paying it so ill at last, but I am sure,
'tis much harder to be excused, and therefore
shall not attempt it, but leave it to Father
Placid's Oratory, tho' having failed in the sub-
stantial Part of your Business, I have little Rea-
son to hope he will succeed better in the Cere-
monial Part of mine. The Truth is, there is
so great a Difference in common Sound between,
It is done, and, *It will be done*, that I was un-
willing to acknowledge the Honour of having
received your Ladyship's Commands, before I
had compassed that of obeying them, which the
Marquis here hath so often assured me would

suddenly fall to my Share, that I thought we had both equal Reason, his Excellency to do it, and I to believe it. This Right I must yet do him, that I never press him in this Concern of your Ladyship's, but he told me, all my Arguments were needless, for the Thing should be done; and how to force a Man that yields, I never understood: but yet I much doubt that till the Result be given upon the Gross of this Affair, which is and has been sometime under View, your Part in particular will hardly be thought ripe, for either his Justice, or Favour, which will be rather the Style it must run in, if it be a Desire of Exemption from a general Rule given in the Case: whatever Person (after the Father's Return) shall be appointed to observe the Course of this Affair, and pursue the Lady's Pretensions here, will be sure of all the Assistance I can at any time give him; tho' I think it would prove a more public Service to find some way of dissolving your Society, and by that means dispersing so much Worth about the World, than by preserving you together, confine it to a Corner, and suffer it to shine so much less, and go out so much sooner, than otherwise it would. The ill Effects of your Retreat appear too much in the ill Success of your Business; for I cannot think any thing could fail that your Ladyship would sollicite; but, I presume, nothing in this lower Scene is worthy either that, or so much as your Desire or Care, which are Words that enter not your Grates, to disturb that perfect Quiet and Indifferency, which I will believe, inhabit there; and by your Happiness decide the long Dispute, whether the
greater

greater lies in wanting nothing, or possessing much.

I cannot but tell you it was unkindly done to refresh the Memory of your Brother *Da Cary's* Loss, which was not a more general one to Mankind, than it was particular to me: but if I can succeed in your Ladyship's Service, as well as I had the Honour once to do in his Friendship, I shall think I have lived to good Purpose here; and for hereafter, shall leave it to Almighty God, with a Submission as abandoned, as you can exercise in the low common Concernments of this worthless Life, which I can hardly imagine was intended us for so great a Misery as it is here commonly made, or to betray so large a Part of the World, to so much greater hereafter as is commonly believed. However, I am obliged to your Ladyship for your Prayers, which I am sure are well intended me, and shall return you mine. That no ill Thoughts of my Faith may possess your Ladyship with an ill one of my Works too; which I am sure cannot fail of being very meritorious, if ever I reach the Intentions I have, of expressing myself upon all Occasions,

Madam,

Your Ladyship's most humble

Brussels, Feb. 16th,
S. N. 1666.

and most obedient Servant.

L E T T E R LXXXVI.

*Sir William Temple to Sir Philip
Warwick.*

S I R,

THOUGH it be more easy and more usual to beg Favours than to acknowledge them; yet I find you are resolved to force me upon the last; without ever giving me Time or Occasion for the other. How much I am obliged to you in my last Dispatch; I am told enough by Mr. *Godolphin*, but more by my own Heart, which will never suffer me to believe, that a Person to whom I have been so long, and am so much a Servant, should be any other than kind to me; for that is my way of judging my absent Friends, and serves like a Watch in my Pocket, to measure the Time, tho' I see no Sun. The very Name of Time puts me in mind, that yours is not to be spent idly, and that you are more pleased to oblige your Friends than to receive their Thanks; and therefore I will only say, that mine are very sensible and very hearty, and that no Man is with more Reason and with more Sincereness than I am,

S I R,

Your affectionate

Brussels, Mar. 12,
N. S. 1666.

bumble Servant.

L E T-

LETTER LXXXVII.

Sir William Temple to Sir John Temple.

S I R,

AFTER so hard and so long a Journey, I thought you would be glad to know I was well again in my former Station, and what was the Occasion of my leaving it so suddenly and so privately, that I could not acquaint any of my Friends with it before I went, which now I am at liberty to entertain you with.

This Winter has passed with much Noise, made by the Bishop of *Munster* in his Enterprize against *Holland*, with some Attempts, but little Success the Fault he has laid in some Degree upon the Marquis here, for refusing to suffer the Duke of *Bornoville* to go and command his Troops, which he durst not consent to, for fear of giving too much Offence to the *French* and the *Dutch*, at a Time when the *Spaniards* here are in ill Condition for a Quarrel: but the Bishop's chief Complaints have been, want of those Sums of Money stipulated by his Majesty to be furnished him both before and after his taking the Field. Our Excuses upon the Loss of the Ships with Tin before *Ostend*, though they may serve to keep us in Countenance, yet they will not pay Forces in the Field, which he has often threatned these three Months past, must break up without speedy Supplies. In the mean
time

time his neighbouring Princes of the Empire, especially the Electors of *Ments* and *Brandenburg*, with the Duke of *Nieuburgh*; seeing a Flame broke out, which must draw foreign Armies into the Empire, both *French* and *Dutch*; have used first all Offices they could, to prevail with the Bishop to make his Peace with *Holland*, engaged the Emperor himself in the same Endeavours, and finding him steady to his Treaty with the King, at last the Duke of *Brandenburg* drew his Forces into the Field, resolved to compel him by joining with the *Dutch*, if he could not persuade him to make the Peace; and the Duke of *Nieuburg* prepared to second him in this Design: the *French* were not wanting in their Offices to the same Ends; so that a private Agreement was made about the beginning of this Month, for the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Munster* Envoys to meet at *Gleve*, and there treat the Peace under the Mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

As soon as the King received this Alarm, he sent an Express immediately to command me away the Instant I received it, with a Commission to the Bishop of *Munster*, and with Instructions to do all I could possibly to hinder the Peace, and with Bills of Exchange to revive his Payments which had been long intermitted, and Promise of more to be remitted every Post, which I was to order into his Agent's Hands here in my Absence.

I went accordingly, acquainting none with my going but the Marquis here, who gave me twenty of his own Guards, with Command to follow absolutely all Orders I should give them. I was to pass through a great deal of the *Spanish* Country, much infested with *Dutch* Parties, more of the Duke of *Nieuburg's*, and more yet of the
Brans-

Brandenburgers, who I know were all Enemies to the Affair I went upon, and therefore thought it best to pass for a *Spanish* Envoy sent from the Marquess *Castel-Rodrigo* to the Emperor; and charged my small Guard and Cornet that commanded them, to keep true to this Note. And some of my Servants, as most of the Guards speaking *Spanish*, I spoke nothing else unless in private, or when I was forced out of it by some Incident.

In this Guise I came to *Dusseldorp* where the Duke of *Nieuburg* happened to be; (contrary to what I had been informed) as soon as I was in my Inn, one of his Officers came to know who I was, and whither I was going, and would not be satisfied by the common Answer from my Servants and Guards, but would receive it from me; when he came up, tho' with much Civility, yet he press'd me so far, that I found there was no feigning with him, and so bid him tell the Duke, that within an Hour I would come and give him an Account both of myself and my Journey. I remembered the great Kindness that had ever interceded between his Majesty and this Prince; and tho' I went upon an Errand that I knew was disagreeable to him, yet I thought he would be less likely to cross me, if I acquainted him frankly with it, than if I disguised scurvily as I was likely to do, being the Thing of the World I could do the most uneasily.

I had a Letter of Credence which I brought out of *England* at my first coming over, for this Prince; but passing another Way to *Munster* I had not used it, and so resolved to do it now: I did so, gave it him, told him my Errand; how much his Majesty reckoned upon his Friendship,

ship, and desired his good Offices to the Bishop of *Munster* in the Design I went upon, of keeping him firm to his Treaties with the King my Master.

This Duke is in my Opinion the finest Gentleman of any *German* I have seen, and deserves much better Fortune than he is in; being small, very much broken, and charged with a very numerous Issue; he seems about fifty Years old, tall, lean, very good Mien, but more like an *Italian* than a *German*: All he says is civil, well bred, *bonnesse*, plain, easy, and has an Air of Truth and Honour. He made great Professions of Kindness and Respect to the King, was sorry he could not serve him in this Affair; his Engagements were already taken with the Emperor and his Neighbour Princes for making the *Munster* Peace, and by that means keeping War out of the Empire. He doubted I could not serve his Majesty upon this Errand neither; for, he first believed I could not get safe to *Munster*, the Ways being all full of *Dutch* and *Brandenburg* Parties, who had Notice of the King's Intention to send away to the Bishop upon this Occasion; and if I should arrive, he believed however I should find the Peace signed before I came.

My Answer was short, for I was very weary; that so I would, however I succeeded, that for the Danger of the Journey I knew no providing against it; but a very good Guide who might lead me through Ways the most unfrequented; that I would desire his Highness to give me one of his own Guards to conduct me, because none would expect a Person going upon my Design, would have one in his Livery for a Guide; and I desired he would let me pass as I had done hitherto

therto in a Journey for a *Spanish* Envoy. The Duke, after some Difficulties at first (which we turned into Pleasantries) complied with me in all: I took my Leave, and went away early next Morning.

I never travelled a more savage Country, over cruel Hills, through many great and thick Woods, stony and rapid Streams, never hardly in any high Way, and very few Villages, till I came near *Dortmund*, a City of the Empire, and within a Day's Journey, or something more, of *Munster*. The Night I came to *Dortmund* was so advanced when I arrived, that the Gates were shut; and with all our Eloquence, which was as moving as we could, we were not able to prevail to have them opened: they advised us to go to a Village about a League distant, where, they said, we might have Lodging. When we came there, we found it all taken up with a Troop of *Brandenburg* Horse, so as the poor *Spanish* Envoy was fain to eat what he could get in a Barn, and to sleep upon a Heap of Straw, and lay my Head upon my Page instead of a Pillow. The best of it was, that he understanding *Dutch*, heard one of the *Brandenburg* Soldiers coming into the Barn examine some of my Guards, about me and my Journey, which when he was satisfied of, he asked if he had heard nothing upon the Way of an *English* Envoy that was expected; the Fellow said, he was upon the Way, and might be at *Dortmund* within a Day or two; with which he was satisfied, and I slept as well as I could.

The next Morning I went into *Dortmund*, and hearing there, that for five or six Leagues round, all was full of *Brandenburg* Troops, I dispatch'd away a *German* Gentleman I had in my Train
with

with a Letter to the Bishop of *Munster*, to let him know the Place and Condition I was in, and desire he would send me Guards immediately, and strong enough to convoy me. The Night following my Messenger returned, and brought me Word, that by eight o' Clock the Morning after, a Commander of the Bishop's would come in sight of the Town, at the Head of twelve hundred Horse, and desired I would come and join them so soon as they appeared: I did so; and after an easie March till four a Clock, I came to a Castle of the Bishop's, where I was received by Lieutenant-general *Gorgas*, a *Scotchman*, in that Service, who omitted nothing of Honour or Entertainment that could be given me. There was nothing here remarkable, but the most episcopal way of Drinking that could be invented. As soon as we came in the great Hall, where stood many Flaggons ready charged, the General called for Wine to drink the King's Health, they brought him a formal Bell of Silver gilt, that might hold about two Quarts or more: he took it empty, pulled out the Clapper, and gave it me who he intended to drink to; then had the Bell filled, drunk it off to his Majesty's Health, then asked me for the Clapper, put it in, turned down the Bell, and rung it out to show he had play'd fair; and left nothing in it; took out the Clapper, desired me to give it to whom I pleased; then gave his Bell to be filled again, and brought it to me. I that never used to drink, and seldom would try, had commonly some Gentlemen with me that served for that Purpose when 'twas necessary: and so I had the Entertainment of seeing this Health go current through about a dozen Hands, with no more Share in it than just what I pleased.

The

The next Day after Noon, about a League from *Munster*, the Bishop met me at the Head of four thousand Horse, and, in Appearance, brave Troops. Before his Coach, that drove very fast, came a Guard of a hundred *Hoydukes*, that he had brought from the last Campaign in *Hungary*; they were in short Coats and Caps, all of a brown Colour, every Man carrying a Sabre by his Side, a short Pole-ax before him, and a skrewed Gun hanging at his Back by a leather Belt that went cross his Shoulder. In this Posture they run almost full Speed, and in excellent Order, and were said to shoot two hundred Yards with their skrew'd Gun, and a Bullet of the Bigness of a large Pea, into the Breadth of a Dollar or Crown-piece. When the Coach came within forty Yards of me, it stop'd; I saw the Bishop, and his General the Prince *d'Homberg*, come out; upon which I alighted so as to meet him between my Horses and his Coach: after Compliments, he would have me go into his Coach, and sit alone at the back End, reserving the t'other to himself and his General: I excused it, saying, I came without Character; but he replied, that his Agent had writ him Word, I brought a Commission which stiled me *Oratorem nostrum* (as was true) and that he knew what was due to that Stile from a great King. I never was nice in taking any Honour that was offered to the King's Character, and so easily took this; but from it, and a Reception so extraordinary, began immediately to make an ill Presage of my Business, and to think of the *Spanish* Proverb:

*Quien te hace mas Corte que no suele hazer-
Oie ha d'engannar oie ha menester.*

And

And with these Thoughts, and in this Posture, I entered *Munster*, and was conducted by the Bishop to a Lodging prepared for me in one of the Canon's Houses.

The Bishop would have left me immediately after he brought me to my Chamber; but I told him I could not let him go without asking an Hour of Audience that very Evening: he would have excused it upon Respect and Weariness, and much Compliment; but I persisted in it, unless he would chuse to sit down where we were, and enter upon Affairs without Ceremony. He was at last contented; and I said all I could towards my End of keeping him to the Faith of his Treaty with the King, to the Pursuit of the War till both consented to the Peace, and to the Expectations of the Money that was due: he answered me, with the Necessities had forced him to treat, from the failing of his Payments; the Violences of his neighbour Princes, and the last Instances of the Emperor; but that he would, upon my Coming, dispatch one immediately to *Cleve*, to command his Ministers to make a Stop in their Treaty till they received further Orders; which I should be Master of.

I went to Supper after he left me, but was told enough privately to spoil it before I sat down, which was, that the Treaty was signed at *Cleve*, tho' I took no Notice of it, because I knew if it were so, being angry would hurt nobody but my Master or myself.

Next Day the Bishop made me a mighty Feast among all his chief Officers, where we sat for four Hours, and in Bravery I drank fair like all the rest; and observed that my *Spanish* Cornet and I that never used it, yet came off in better
Order

Order than any of the Company. I was very sick after I came to my Lodging; but he got a Horseback on purpose to shew himself about the Town, while the rest of the Company were out of Sight all the Afternoon. The Day after was agreed to give me an Account of the Affair of *Cleve*, upon the Return of the Bishop's Express after my Arrival; and at an Audience in the Evening, with great Pretence of Trouble and Grief he confest the Treaty was signed, and so past Remedy, and that it had been so before his Express arrived, tho' much against his Expectation, as he profest; I am sure 'twas not against mine; for I left *Brussels* in the Belief that I should certainly find all concluded; which made my Journey much harder than it could have been with any Hopes of succeeding.

I told him, when I found all ended, and no Hopes of retrieving it, that I would be gone within a Day or two, and would take my Leave of him that Night, being not well, and needing some Rest before I began my Journey. He said and did all that could be to persuade my Stay till I had represented his Reasons to the King, and received an Answer; and I found his Design was to keep me as long as he could, while his Agent at *Brussels* received Bills of Exchange from *England* that were ordered him in my Absence; so that I knew not how much every Day's Stay would cost the King, and that no other Service was to be done his Majesty in this Affair, besides saving as much of his Money as I could. The Bishop finding me immoveable, advised me however, in pretended Kindness, to go by *Collen*, which, tho' four or five Days about, would be the only Way that was left for me with any Safety,

ty, the *Dutch* and *Brandenburghers* having posted themselves on purpose to attend my Return upon all the other Roads; and he offered me Colonel *Ossory*, an *Irish* Gentleman in his Service, to conduct me; I seemed to accept all, and to be obliged by his Care, but wished myself well out of it, and took my Leave, tho' he pretended to see me again next Day.

I went home, and instead of going to Bed, as I gave out, I laid my Journey so as to be on Horseback next Morning between three and four o' Clock, upon *Good Friday*, which I thought might help to make my Journey less suspected: I fec'd the Officer that opened the Gates for me, to keep them shut two Hours longer than usual that Morning (which I hear was performed) and so committed myself to the Conduct of the Duke of *Nieuburg's* Guide, to lead me the shortest Way he could into some Place belonging to his Master. I rode hard, and without any Stop, to a Village eight Leagues from *Munster*, and just upon the Borders of the *Brandenburg* Country: there I baited, and pretended to go to Bed and stay all Night; but in an hour's Time having got fresh Horses ready for four Men that I pretended to send before me; I put on a Cassaque of one of the Marquis's Guards, and with my Page, the Duke of *Nieuburg's* Guard, and Colonel *Mosjette*, a *Flemish* Officer in the *Munster* Service, I took Horse at the back Door of my Inn, while the rest of my Company thought me in Bed, and resolved to ride as far as I could the rest of that Day, leaving my Steward to follow me the next, with the rest of my Train and Guards.

I rode till eight at Night, through the wildest Country, and most unfrequented Ways that
ever

ever I saw, but being then quite spent, and ready to fall from my Horse, I was forced to stop and lay me down upon the Ground, till my Guard went to a Peasant's House in Sight, to find if there were any Lodging for me; he brought me word there was none, nor any Provisions in the House, nor could find any thing but a little Bottle of *Juniper Water*, which is the common Cordial in that Country: I drunk a good deal, and with it found my Spirits so revived, that I resolved to venture upon the three Leagues that remained of my Journey, so as to get into the Territories of *Nieuburg*, having passed all the Way since I left my Train through those of *Brandenburg*, whose Engagements with the *Dutch* left me no Safety while I was there. About Midnight I came to my Lodging, which was so miserable that I lay upon Straw, got on Horseback by break of Day, and to *Duseldorp* by Noon; where, being able to ride no further, I went to Bed for an Hour, sent to make my Excuses to the Duke of *Nieuburg* upon my Haste and Weariness, and to borrow his Coach to carry me to *Ruremonde*, which was a long Day's Journey. This Prince sent me his Coach and his Compliments, with all the Civility in the World: I went away that Afternoon, got to *Ruremonde* the next, and from thence hither, not without great Danger of the *Dutch* Parties even in the *Spanish* Country: and so have ended the hardest Journey that ever I made in my Life, or ever shall; for such another I do not think I could ever bear with a Body no stronger than mine.

At my Return, I have had the Fortune to stop several Bills of Exchange, that would otherwise have fallen into the Hands of the Bishop's Agent here,

here, and to forbid the Payment of the rest he received in my Absence, which tho' accepted by the Merchants at *Antwerp*, yet were not satisfied, the Time having not expired at which they were payable. And this Service to the King is all the Satisfaction I have by this Adventure, which has ended the whole Affair of *Munster*, that has of late made so much Noise, and raised so much Expectation in the World.

I am, Sir,

Brussels, May 10,
S. N. 1666.

Your, &c.

L E T T E R LXXXVIII.

Sir William Temple to Lord Lisle.

My Lord,

I Received lately the Honour of one from your Lordship, which after all Complaints of Slowness and Dulness, had enough to bear it out, tho' it had been much better address'd, but needed nothing, where it was, besides yours. In my present Station, I want no Letters of Business or News, which makes those that bring me Marks of my Friends Remembrance, or Touches at their present Thoughts and Entertainments, taste much better, than any thing can do, that is common Fare.

I agree very much with your Lordship, in being little satisfied, by the *Wits* Excuse, of employing none upon Relations, as they do in *France*; and doubt much, it is the same Temper and Course of Thoughts among us, that makes us
neither

neither act Things worth relating, nor relate Things worth the reading. Whilst making some of the Company laugh, and others ridiculous, is the Game in Vogue; I fear we shall hardly succeed at any other, and am sorry, our Courtiers should content themselves with such Victories as those. I would have been glad to have seen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrate Captain *Douglas* his Death, who stood and burnt in one of our Ships at *Chatham* when his Soldiers left him, because it should never be said, a *Douglas* quitted his Post without Order; whether it be wise in Men to do such Actions or no, I am sure it is so in States to honour them; and if they can, to turn the Vein of Wits, to raise up the Esteem of some Qualities, above their real Value, rather than bring every thing to Burlesque, which if it be allowed at all, should be so only to wise Men in their Closets, and not to Wits, in their common Mirth and Company. But I leave them to be reformed by great Mens Examples and Humours, and know very well, 'tis Folly for a private Man to touch them, which does but bring them like Wasps about ones Ears. However, I cannot but bewail the Transitoriness of their Fame, as well as other Mens, when I hear, Mr. *Waller* is turned to Burlesque among them, while he is alive, which never happened to old Poets, till many Ages after their Death; and tho' I never knew him enough to adore him, as many have done, and easily believe he may be, as your Lordship says, enough out of Fashion, yet I am apt to think some of the old cut-work Bands, were of as fine Thread, and as well wrought, as any of our new Points; and at least, that all the Wit, he and his Company spent, in heightning
Love

Love and Friendship, was better employ'd, than what is laid out so prodigally, by the modern Wits, in the Mockery of all sorts of Religion and Government.

I know not how your Lordship's Letter has engaged me in this kind of Discourses; but I know very well you will advise me after it, to keep my Residency here as long as I can, foretelling me what Success I am like to have among our Courtiers if I come over. The best on't is, my Heart is set so much upon my little Corner at *Sheen*, that while I keep that, no other Disappointments will be very sensible to me; and because my Wife tells me she is so bold, as to enter into Talk of enlarging our Dominions there, I am contriving here this Summer, how a Succession of Cherries may be compass'd from *May* to *Michaelmas*, and how the Riches of *Sheen* Vines may be improved, by half a dozen Sorts which are not yet known there, and which I think much beyond any that are. I should be very glad to come and plant them myself this next Season, but know not yet how those Thoughts will hit: though I design to stay but a Month in *England*, yet they are here very unwilling I should stir, as all People in Adversity are jealous of being forsaken; and his Majesty is not willing to give them any Discouragement whether he gives them any Assistance or no. But if they end the Campaign with any good Fortune, they will be better humoured in that as well as all other Points; and it seems not a very unlikely thing, the *French* having done nothing in six Months past but harass their Army, and being before *Lisle* engaged in a Siege, which may very well break the Course of their Success: they

they have not yet made the least Advance upon any of their Out-works, but been beaten off with much Loss in all their Assaults; and if that King's Design be to bring his Nobility as low as he has done his People, he is in a good way, and may very well leave most of the Brave among them in their Trenches there.

I had not need write often at this Length, nor make your Lordship any new Professions of my being

My Lord,

*Brussels, Aug. —
1667.*

Your, &c.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Lord Lisle to Sir William Temple.

S I R,

SINCE I had your last Letter, I have made you no Acknowledgment of it: a Retirement is in several Respects like the Night of one's Life, in the Obscurity and Darknes and in the Sleepiness and Dosedness: which I mention to put you in mind that I am only by my Posture of Life apt to be failing towards you.

What is of Court or Assemblies near us is at my Lord Crofts's. Sir Thomas Ingram this Summer hath made no Noise at all. Old Lady Devonshire keeps up her Feasts still; and that hath been of late Mr. Waller's chief Theatre: the Assembly of Wits at Mr. Comptroller's will scarce let him in; and poor Sir John Denham is fallen to the Ladies also: he is at many of the

Meetings at Dinners, talks more than ever he did, and is extreanly pleased with those that seem willing to hear him; and from that Obligation exceedingly praises the Dutchess of *Monmouth* and my Lady *Cavendish*: if he had not the Name of being mad, I believe in most Companies he would be thought wittier than ever he was: he seems to have few Extravagancies, besides that of telling Stories of himself, which he is always inclin'd to: some of his Acquaintance say, that extream Vanity was a Cause of his Madnes, as well as it is an Effect.

All Persons of Note hereabouts are going to their Winter-quarters at *London*. The Burning of the City begins to be talk'd of as a Story like that of the Burning of *Troy*. At *Sheen* we are like to be bare: Lady *Luddal* seems uncertain in her Stay; and we hear that when Sir *James Sheen* and his Lady were ready to come from *Ireland*, great Cranips took my Lady in her Limbs: and Sir *James's* Servants doubt whether we shall see him this Winter.

I desire, Sir, your Leave to kiss my Lady *Temple's* Hands, and my Lady *Giffard's* Hands by your Letter. My Daughter and I were in dispute, which of us two should write this Time to *Brussels*; and because I was judged to have more Leisure, it fell to me, and my Lady *Temple* is to have the next from her.

I wish you, Sir, all good Successes in your Businesses, and am

Your very affectionate Servant,

September 26, 1667.

L I S L E.

L E T -

LETTER XC.

Sir William Temple to Charles II.

May it please your Majesty,

IN my last Passage hither, I had the Honour of trying your Majesty's Yatch in such a Storm, as I never felt before, and a greater no Man in her pretended ever to have seen. The Fortune of your Majesty's Affairs, help'd us to the Discovery of a Pilot Boat at a distance from the Coasts, that brought us happily in, without which we had passed such another Night at Sea, as I should not care to do, for any thing your Majesty could give me, besides your Favour, and the Occasions of serving you: if we had miscarried, your Majesty had lost an honest diligent Captain, and sixteen poor Seamen, so beaten out with Wet and Toil, that the Compassion I had then for them, I have still about me, and assure your Majesty, that five or six more, will be necessary for your Yatch, if you use her to such Passages as this: but for the rest, I believe there is not such a Boat in the World. She returns with a long, but final and happy Account of my Business, to my Lord *Arlington*, and with the Count *de Dona*, who will be better Company than a long ill Letter, and deserves your Majesty's Welcome by his other Qualities, as well as his particular Devotions for your Majesty's Person and Service.

I cannot end this Letter, without congratulating with your Majesty, upon the Success of your Resolution, which occasioned my Journey

hither ; and which is generally applauded here, as the wisest and happiest both for your Kingdoms and your Neighbours, and the most honourable to your Majesty's Person, that ever was taken upon any Occasion by any Prince. And the strange Success of it, hath been answerable to the rest of your Majesty's Fortunes, and so amazing, that the Expressions made of it here every Hour, are altogether extraordinary, not to say extravagant.

God in Heaven continue your Majesty's good Health, and good Councils, and good Fortunes, and then I shall have nothing more to wish, but that you may pardon the Faults, and accept of the humble and hearty Devotions of

S I R,

Your Majesty's most loyal and most

Hague, Jan.^r 29, obedient Subject and Servant.
N. S. 1668.

L E T T E R XCI.

Sir William Temple to Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

I AM sorry his Majesty should meet with any thing he did not look for at the opening of this Session of Parliament ; but confess, I do not see why his Majesty should not only consent, but encourage any Inquiries or Disquisitions they desire to make into the Miscarriages of the late War,

War, as well as he has done already in the Matter of Accounts: For, if it be not necessary, it is a King's Ease and Happiness to content his People. I doubt, as Men will never part willingly with their Monies, unless they be well perswaded it will be employ'd directly to those Ends for which they gave it; so they will never be satisfy'd with a Government, unless they see Men are chosen into Offices and Employments by being fit for them; continued, for discharging them well; rewarded, for extraordinary Merit; and punish'd for remarkable Faults. Besides, in these Cases, his Majesty discharges the Hardship and Severity of all Punishments upon the Parliament, and commits no Force upon the Gentleness of his own Nature, while his Subjects see, that no Tenderness of their Prince, nor Corruption of Ministers, can preserve them long from paying what they owe to any Forfeits of their Duty. Nor indeed, can any Prince do Justice to those that serve him well, without punishing those that serve him ill; since that is to make their Conditions equal whose Deserts are different. I should not say this to any Person but your Lordship, to whom I know part of that Justice is due. But to say Truth, the Progress and End of the last War went so much to my Heart, and I have heard so much lately from Monsieur de Witt, concerning the Carriage of it on our Side, especially what fell under his Eye, while he was abroad in the Fleet; that I cannot but think the Parliament may be excused for their Warmth in this Pursuit. But your Lordship can best discern by the Course of Debates, whether this proceeds from a steady Intention upon a general Good, or from some accidental Dilempers, from which

the greatest and best Assemblies of Men are not always free, especially when they have continu'd long together.

I beg your Lordship's Pardon for my Liberty in these Discourses, to which you were pleased to encourage me, by hearing me so obligingly those few Minutes I was allowed for such Talk or Thoughts at my last being with you, and from the Sense you then expressed of the absolute Necessity there was for his Majesty to fall into a perfect Intelligence with his Parliament, especially being engaged into an Appearance of Action abroad by the Force of this present Conjunction.

Brussels, March 2,
N. S. 1668.

I am ever, &c.

LETTER XCII.

*Sir William Temple to Sir Orlando
Bridgman, Lord Keeper.*

My Lord,

I Received some Days since the Honour of one from your Lordship of the 9th past, and though I owe all the Acknowledgments that can be upon it, yet I will not so much wrong your Lordship's Time or my own Sincereness, as to enlarge them with much Ceremony. It will be enough to say, that nothing can be more obliging than your Favour to me, both in the Degree and Manner of it, arising so freely from your Lordship's Bounty and Generousness, as well as express'd

press'd in a way so frank and so hearty as that of your last Letter; and on the other Side, that no Man can resent it more, though they may much better deserve it; and that your Lordship can never reckon more truly nor more justly, upon any Person's Esteem and Services, than upon mine, which I humbly beg your Lordship to believe. I doubt you will be troubled with my Wife's Attendances, having told her, your Lordship had given her that Liberty; if she ever pretends your Favour and Countenance further than in receiving what the King has made my Due upon this Employment while I have it, or what his Majesty shall from his own Motion assign me; upon any new Commission; I disclaim her beforehand, and declare she goes not upon my Errand; for I shall never think that too little which his Majesty thinks enough: for the rest, I will be confident, neither your Lordship nor my Lord *Arlington* intend I should ruin myself by my Employments, or that I should at my own Charge bear out a Character, which of itself is enough to turn round a Head that has all its Life, till these last three Years, been used to Shade and Silence. In case the Occasion should break, and my Journey to *Aix* should yet fail, I ask nothing of his Majesty, though putting myself in a Posture to comply with any sudden Necessity of it, has already forced me to enter into very considerable Expences; but in case I must go, I beg your Lordship that has Children, to consider how hard it would be for me to perform such a Journey upon my own Credit. Whatever it be that his Majesty thinks fit to assign me upon such an Occasion, if he pleases to order Alderman *Backwell* to furnish me with a Letter of

Credit for so much, let it be what it will, I will live according to what, that and my own little Revenue will reach, and not spare any little Presents I have received in his Majesty's Service, where his Honour requires it: all I desire is, only not to be forced into Debts, which, to say the Truth, I have ever abhorred, and would by my good Will, eat dry Crusts, and lie upon the Floor, rather than do it upon any other Consideration, than of his Majesty's immediate Commands, and I hope those, his Justice, and my Friends Favour will prevent.

I beg your Lordship's Pardon for troubling you with this strange Freedom about my own Concernments, which you have pleased to encourage me to, and may at any time check me in it, with the least Discountenance, which I doubt I have already deserved. But I will not increase or lengthen my Faults by Excuses, nor trouble your Lordship, by repeating any thing of what my Lord *Arlington* receives from me at large, upon the Course of Publick Affairs here; which though seeming to change often, in others Eyes, appears to me constant in the *French* Design of a War; which I believe nothing can alter, but the visible Marks of Force and Steadiness in their Neighbours, to oppose them.

I beg your Lordship's Belief, that as I am with very great Reason, so I am with very great Passion too,

My Lord,

Brussels, April 3,
1668.

Your, &c.

L E T-

LETTER XCIII.

Sir William Temple to Sir John Temple.

S I R,

THOUGH I doubt our late Motions may have lost or delay'd some of your Letters, which we have now been some Time in want of; yet I presume ours have had their constant Course to you, though from several Parts; and though mine have not been frequent, upon the Permission you give me to spare my own Eyes and Time, when they are otherwise taken up, and trust to my Sister's entertaining you: yet, upon my return Home, after three Years Absence, I could not but give you some Account of my coming and stay here; and of what I can foresee is like to follow it, both as to my own Particular, and to the publick Affairs, in which that seems at present to be so much involved.

After the Conclusion of the Triple Alliance, and the Peace of *Aix*, I was at an End of my Ambition; having seen *Flanders* saved as if it had been, by one of the Miracles, the House of *Austria* has, they say, been used to; and the general Interests of Christendom secured against the Power and Attempts of *France*; and at the same time the Consideration and Honour of his Majesty and his Crown Abroad, raised to a Degree it has not been in for some Ages past, and we had no Reason to expect it should be in some Ages to come, upon the Decline it felt after the Business of *Chatham*, and the Peace of *Breda*

that succeeded it. I returned from *Aix* to *Brussels* without other Thoughts than of continuing in that Station till I grew wearier of it than I was like to do very suddenly, of a Place, I confess I love ; but immediately upon my Arrival there, I met with Letters from my Lord *Arlington*, which brought me the King's Orders to continue the Equipage of an Ambassador, that I was in, upon my *Aix* Journey, in order to my serving his Majesty in the same Character at the *Hague*, whither he was resolved to send me, and to renew upon occasion of our late Alliances, a Character, which the Crown of *England* had discontinued in that Country, since King *James's* Time. In order hereunto I was left at liberty to take my Leave of the Marquis, and to return into *England* as soon as I pleased, which I did by the Way of *Holland*, and left most of my Servants and Horses at *Utrecht*.

Upon my Arrival here, I was received both by the King and Court a great deal better than I could deserve or pretend ; but People seem generally pleased with the Councils and Negotiations, in which I have had so much Part since *Christmas* last ; and I understand not Courts so ill (how little soever I have been used to them) as not to know, that one ought not to lose the Advantage of coming Home with the common Opinion of some Merits or good Hitts at one's Back ; if one's Business be *de passer sa Fortune* ; and I am put enough in mind of it upon this Occasion, by several of those many new Friends one would think I had at this time of Day, as well as by some of my old ones ; but I cannot imagine why I should pretend to have deserved more than my Pay of the King, for which I served him in my late Employments ; and if I
got

got Honour by them, 'twas so much more than I had to reckon upon. Besides, I should be sorry to ask Money of him at a Time when, for aught I can judge by the Cry of the Court, he wants it more than I do. The *Spanish* Ambassador and Baron *d'Isola*, as well as others of my Friends, would needs be asking a Title for me, and 'tis with Difficulty enough that I have prevented it; but 'tis that I am sure I never can have a mind to, and if it should ever be offered me, I resolve it shall either begin with you, if you desire it, if not, with my Son, which I had much rather. But I suppose, nothing of this can happen in our Court without Pursuit, and so I reckon myself in all these Points just where I was about six Months ago, but only designed for another Embassy, and no Man knows how that will end. I am very much press'd to dispatch my Preparations for it, by my Lord Keeper and Lord *Arlington*, who are extream kind to me, as well as to the Measures lately taken by their Ministry, and seem to value themselves a great deal upon them. They say, all the Business the King now has, both at Home and Abroad, will turn upon my Hand in *Holland*, by keeping the *French* from breaking in upon our late Alliances, and the Confidence between us; and by drawing the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire into a common Guaranty of a Peace; and thereupon they are mighty earnest with me to hasten away. On t'other Side, the Commissioners of the Treasury seem to have more mind to my Company here than I could expect: for after some of them had tried to hinder the King's Resolution, of sending either an Ambassador at all into *Holland* (upon Pretence of so long Disuse of that Character)

rafter) or me in particular; when that could not be carried, they prepared my Way by entering upon new Regulations in the Exchequer, among which, those concerning foreign Employments, brought down the Equipage Money of Ambassadors from three thousand Pounds, as it has been since the King came in, to fifteen hundred Pounds in *France* and *Spain*, and to one thousand Pounds in all other Courts; and their Allowance, from one hundred Pounds a Week to ten Pounds a Day in *France* and *Spain*, and to seven in other Places. Though this be pretended by the Commissioners as only a Piece of a general Scheme of Parsimony, they find necessary in the present Condition of the Revenue; yet I understand it as calculated just at this Time particularly for me; and my Lord *Arlington* confesses, he thinks it so too, and takes part in it as a Piece of Envy or Malice to himself as well as to me, from some who are spited at all that has lately passed between Us and *Holland*, and at the Persons who have been at the Head of those Councils. For my Part, I resent it not only as a Thing I have not deserved, upon an Employment cast wholly upon me by the King's Choice, and, as he seems to think, by the Necessity of his Affairs; but as that which I find plainly by the short Experience of my last Embassy, will not defray the Expence of another, with any Honour to the King or myself Abroad; and though I do not pretend to make my Fortune by these Employments, yet I confess I do not pretend to ruin it neither. I have therefore been resolved several times absolutely to refuse this Embassy, unless it be upon the Terms all others have had: but my Lord *Arlington* puts so much Weight

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upon

upon my going, that he will not hear of it: he says, 'tis that our good Friends would have, and intend by this Usage; and that I can no way disappoint them so much as by going, and that this Rule will be broken in three Months time: that I should not consider small Matters of Money in the Course of my Fortune, and that the King cannot fail of making mine at a Lump one time or other: that there is nothing I may not expect from him upon my Return from this Embassy; and that if his Majesty had not thought me of absolute Necessity to him in *Holland* upon this Conjunction, he had brought me now into Secretary *Morris's* Place, which upon my going Abroad is designed for Sir *John Trevor*. My Lord Keeper is of the same Mind, to have me by no means refuse it (as he says) neither for the King's Sake nor my own; and your old Friend Sir *Robert Long* agrees with them both; and says, after a Year or two of this Embassy, I cannot fail of being either Secretary of State, or sent Ambassador into *Spain*; which are both certain Ways of making any Man's Fortune.

With all this, I confess I find it not very easy to resolve, and very much desire yours and my Brother's Opinion upon it: and that you may the better give it me, I shall tell you one Circumstance which weighs a little with me, though not at all with my Friends here. They are all of Opinion, the Measures the King has lately taken cannot be broken nor altered, however they may be snarled at by some Persons, upon particular Envy or Interest; but I see plainly there are others of another Mind. Sir *Thomas Clifford* said to a Friend of mine in Confidence, upon all the Joy that was here at the Conclusion of the Triple

Triple Alliance; *Well, for all this Noise, we must have yet another War with the Dutch before it be long.* And, I see plainly already, that he and Sir George Downing are endeavouring with all the Industry that can be, to engage the *East India* Company here in such Demands and Pretensions upon the *Dutch*, as will never be yielded to on that Side, and will increase a Jealousy, they will ever have, of our unsteady Councils, and of our leaving still a Door open for some new Offences when we shall have a mind to take them. On t'other Side, the *French* will leave no Stone unturned, to break this Confidence between Us and *Holland*, which spoils all their Measures, and without which, they had the World before them. If they can, they will undermine it in *Holland* by Jealousies of the Prince of *Orange*, or any other Artifice, and will spare neither Promises nor Threats. If I should be able to keep that Side staunch, they will spare none of the same Endeavours here, and will have some good Helps that I see already, and may have others that do not yet appear. If by any of these Ways, or other Accidents, our present Measures come to change; I am left in *Holland* to a certain Loss, upon the Terms they would send me, though I should be paid, but to a certain Ruin if I should not; which I may well expect from the good Quarter I may reckon upon from some in the Treasury; and when my Embassy ends, I may find a new World here, and all the fine Things I am told of, may prove Castles in the Air. There is I know, a great deal to be said for my going, but on t'other Side, I am well as I am, and cannot be ruined but by such an Adventure as this. I beg of you to let me know
your

your Opinion upon the Whole; and if I could have the Confidence, I should beg a great deal more earnestly that I might see you here, since I cannot get loose to wait on you there. Till I hear from you, I shall let the Talk and the Forms of my Embassy go on, and am confident, however they presume, yet I can spin out the Time of my going till about the End of *August*, in hopes of seeing you here; which will be, I am sure, the greatest Satisfaction that can befall,

Sir,

Sheen, July 22,
1668.

Yours, &c.

LETTER XCIV.

Sir William Temple to the Earl of Northumberland.

My LORD,

BY the same Post which brought me the Honour of a late Letter from your Lordship, I received from other Hands the News of my Lord of *Northumberland's* having left you to the Succession of all his Honours and Fortunes: which gives me the Occasion of acknowledging your Lordship's Favour and Memory; and at the same time of condoling with you upon the Loss of a Father, whose great Virtues and Qualities must needs have made so many Sharers with you in this Affliction. I hope the Help which is given your Lordship by so many of your Servants and Friends upon this Occasion, will serve to ease your own Part in it: and that after all that can be offered up to Decency, and to the Memory of so great
and

and excellent a Person, this will find your Lordship rather taken up with the Imitation of his Virtues than the bewailing of his Loss: Since this is but what he owed to Nature and to Age, and to the Course of long Infirmities; and the other is what will be due from your Lordship all your Life, to your Birth, your Family, and yourself. Nor indeed can ever so much depend upon so few Paces, as will now, upon those your Lordship shall make at your first setting out: Since all Men will be presaging by them the Course of your Journey; as they will have indeed influence upon the Ease as well as the Direction of it. For my own Part, I expect a great Increase of your Lordship's personal Honour upon this Occasion: and that having been so excellent a Son of a Family, you will shew yourself the same in being now a Father of it; since nothing makes Men fit to command, like having learnt to obey; and the same good Sense and good Dispositions make Men succeed well in all the several Offices of Life. Those I know will be your Lordship's Safety in entering upon a Scene, where you will find many Examples to avoid, and few to imitate: for I have yet seen none so generally corrupted as ours at this Time, by a common Pride and Affectation of despising and laughing at all Face of Order, and Virtue, and Conformity to Laws; which, after all, are Qualities that most conduce to the Happiness of a public State, and the Ease of a private Life.

But your Lordship will, I hope, make a great Example, instead of needing other than those of your own Family, to which so much Honour, Order, and Dignity, have been very peculiar; as well as the Consequences of them in the general Applause, and the particular Esteem of all those
who

who have had the Honour to know and observe it. Among whom there is none more desirous to express that Inclination by his Services, nor that has more of it at Heart than

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

Hague, June 17,

S. N. 1670.

and most humble Servant.

LETTER XCV.

Sir William Temple to Sir John Temple.

S I R,

I Must make you my humble Acknowledgments for so great a Present, as you have been pleased to send me towards that Expence I have resolved to make at *Sheen*: and assure you, no Part of it shall either go any other way, or lessen what I had intended of my own. I doubt not to compass what I told you of my Lord *Lisle*, for enlarging my small Territories there; when that is done, I propose to bestow a thousand Pounds upon the Conveniences of the House and Garden; and hope that will reach all I care for: So that your five hundred Pounds may be laid out rather for Ornament than Use, as you seem to desire, by ordering me to make the Front perfectly uniform. Your Care of that, and me, in this Matter is the more obliging, the less I find you concur with me in my Thoughts of retiring wholly from public Affairs, and to that Purpose, of making my Nest at this time

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as pleasant and commodious as I can afford it. Nor shall I easily resolve to offer at any of those Advantages you think I might make upon such a Retreat, of the King's Favour or good Opinion, by pretending either to Pension or any other Employment. The Honour and Pay of such Posts as I have been in, ought to be esteemed sufficient for the best Services of them: and if I have Credit left with the present Ministers to get what is owing me upon my Embassy, I shall think myself enough rewarded; considering how different a Value is now like to be put upon my Services in *Holland*, from what there was when they were performed. 'Tis very likely at that time, as you believe, there were few reasonable Things the King would have denied me, while the Triple Alliance and our League with *Holland* had so great a Vogue; and my Friends were not wanting in their Advices to me to make use of it. But I have resolved never to ask him any thing, otherwise than by serving him well: and you will have the less Reason perhaps to reproach me this Method, if you will please to remember how the two Embassies of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Holland* were not only thrown upon me without my seeking; but also, what my Lord *Arlington* told me was designed for me upon Secretary *Morris's* Removal, in case the King had not thought my Embassy into *Holland* of the greatest Necessity in pursuance of those Measures we had taken with that State.

For what you think of the Interest we have still to pursue them, and consequently of the Use the King will still have of me upon that Occa-

Occasion; I will not enter into any Reasonings with you upon that Matter at this Distance; but will only tell you some Passages of Fact upon which I ground the Judgment I make of Affairs wherein I have no Part; and which I am not so solicitous to draw into the Light, as I doubt others are to keep them in the Dark. And when I have told you these, I shall leave you to judge whether I take my Measures right as to my own private Conduct.

You know first the Part I had in all our Alliances with *Holland*; how far my own personal Credit was engaged upon them to Monsieur *de Witt*; and the Resolutions I not only acquainted him and you with, but his Majesty too; that I would never have any Part in breaking them whatever should happen: tho' that I confess could hardly enter into any body's Head that understood the Interests of Christendom as well as our own. I have given you some Intimations how cold I have observed our Temper at Court in those Matters for this last Year; and how different it was thought abroad from that Warmth with which we engaged in them: so as it was a common Saying at the *Hague*, *Qu'il faut avouer, qu'il y a eu neuf mois du plus grand Ministere du monde ne Angleterre*: for they would hardly allow a longer Term to the Vigour of that Council which made the Triple Alliance, and the Peace of *Aix*, and sent me over into *Holland* this last Embassy to pursue the great Ends of them, and draw the Emperor and Princes of the Empire into the common Guaranty of the Peace. Instead of this, our Pretensions upon the Busi-
ness

ness of *Surinam*, and the *East-India* Companies, have grown high and been managed with Sharpness between us and the States; and grounded (as *Monfieur de Witt* conceives) more upon a Design of shewing them our ill Humour than our Reason. I was sensible, that my Conduct in all these Matters had fallen short for many Months past of the Approbation at Court it used to receive; and that *Mr. Worden* was sent over to me only to disparage it, or espy the Faults of it; tho' I think he returned with the Opinion that the Business would not bear it. 'Tis true, both my Lord *Arlington* and Sir *John Trevor* continued to the last of my Stay in *Holland* to assure me, that the King still remained firm in his Measures with the States: but yet I found the Business of admitting the Emperor into the Guaranty, went downright lame: and that my Lord Keeper was in a manner out of the foreign Councils; for so he writ to me himself; and gave me Notice at the same time, that my Lord *Arlington* was not at all the same to me that he had been: which I took for an ill Sign in our public Business, and an ill Circumstance in my own; and the more because I was sure not to have deserved it; and found nothing of it in his own Letters, but only that they came seldom, and run more upon indifferent Things than they used to do.

Ever since *Madame's* Journey into *England*, the *Dutch* had grown jealous of something between Us and *France*; and were not like to be cured by these Particulars I have mentioned: but upon the Invasion and Seizure of *Lorrain* by *France*, and my being sent for over so suddenly

ly after it, Monsieur *de Witt* himself could keep his Countenance no longer; though he be neither suspicious in his Nature, nor thought it the best Course to discover any such Disposition upon this Occasion, how much soever he had of it: but yet he told me at my coming away, that he should make a Judgment of us by the Suddenness of my Return, which the King had ordered me to assure him of.

When I came to Town, I went immediately to my Lord *Arlington*, according to my Custom. And whereas upon my several Journeys over in the late Conjunctions, he had ever quitted all Company to receive me, and did it always with open Arms, and in the kindest manner that could be; he made me this last time stay an Hour and half in an outward Room before he came to me, while he was in private with my Lord *Ashly*. He received me with a Coldness that I confess surpris'd me; and after a quarter of an Hour's Talk of my Journey and his Friends at the *Hague*, instead of telling me the Occasion of my being sent for over, or any thing else material, he called in *Tata* that was in the next Room, and after that my Lord *Crofts*, who came upon a common Visit; and in that Company the rest of mine pass'd, 'till I found he had nothing more to say to me, and so went away.

The next Morning I went however to him again, desiring to be brought by him to kiss the King's Hand, as I had used upon my former Journeys. He thought fit to bring me to his Majesty as he was walking in the *Mall*; who stopt to give me his Hand, and ask me half a dozen Questions about my Journey; and
about

about the Prince of *Orange*, and so walk'd on. Since which Time, neither the King nor my Lord *Arlington* have ever said three Words to me about any thing of Business; though I have been as often in their Way as agreed with such an ill Courtier as I am, or a Man without Business as I found myself to be.

I have seen my Lord Keeper and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*: and find the first uneasy and apprehensive of our present Councils; the last sufficient and confident that no Endeavours can break the Measures between Us and *Holland*, because they are esteemed so necessary abroad and so rational at home: but, I find them both but barely in the Skirts of Business, and only in Right of their Posts: and that in the Secret of it, the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Arlington*, my Lord *Ashly*, and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, at present compose the Ministry. This I tell you in short, as the Constitution of our Affairs here at this time, and which I believe you may reckon upon.

You know how different Sir *Thomas Clifford* and I have always been since our first Acquaintance, in our Schemes of Government, and many other Matters, especially concerning our Alliance with *Holland*: and that has been the Reason I suppose, of very little Commerce between us further than common Civility, in our frequent Encounters at my Lord *Arlington's* for several Years past: this made me a little surpris'd at his receiving me upon my first coming over, and treating me since with a most wonderful Graciousness, till t'other Day, which I suppose has ended that Style. Upon the first Visit he made me, after many Civilities,

lities, he told me, he must needs have two Hours Talk with me at some Time of Leisure and in private, upon our Affairs in *Holland*: and still repeated this almost every time he saw me: till one Day last Week, when we appointed the Hour, and met in his Closet. He began with great Compliments to me about my Services to the King in my Employments abroad; went on with the Necessity of preserving our Measures with *Holland*, and the mutual Interest both Nations had in it, and concluded with wondering why the States should have shewed so much Difficulty upon those two Affairs of *Surinam* and the *East-India* Company, wherein our Demands seemed so reasonable. And how it came about that I had failed in compassing his Majesty's Satisfaction in those two Matters, after having succeeded so much in all my other Negotiations. I thought he might not have understood the Detail of those two Affairs; and so deduced it to him, with the *Dutch* Reasons, which I confess seemed to me in many Points but too well grounded. He seemed unsatisfied with them all, and told me I must undertake that Matter again, and bring it to a Period; and asked me whether I did not think I could bring them to Reason: I said plainly I believed I never could, to what we called so, and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it: that I had spent all my Shot in vain; and therefore thought their best way would be to employ some Person in it that had more Wit or Ability than I. Upon this he grew a little moved; and replied, That, for my Wit and Ability they all knew I had enough; and all the Question was, whether I was willing

ing to employ them upon this Occasion, which so much concerned the King's Service and the Honour of the Nation. Hereupon I told him, how I had used my utmost Endeavours in it already, how many Representations I had made the States; how many Conferences I had had with their Commissioners, how long and particular Accounts I had given them hitherto; and how I had valued all the Reasons transmitted me from hence; and how all to no Purpose: and being, I confess, a little heated after so long and unpleasant a Conversation (as well as he) I ask'd him in the Name of God what he thought a Man could do more? Upon this in a great Rage he answered me; Yes, he would tell me what a Man might do more, and what I ought to do more; which was, to let the King and all the World know how basely and unworthily the States had used him; and to declare publicly how their Ministers were a Company of Rogues and Rascals, and not fit for his Majesty or any other Prince to have any thing to do with; and this was a Part that no body could do so well as I. My Answer was very calm, That I was not a Man fit to make Declarations; that whenever I did upon any Occasion, I should speak of all Men what I thought of them; and so I should do of the States; and the Ministers I had dealt with there; which was all I could say of this Business. And so our Conversation ended.

Upon all these Passages, and some others not fit for a Letter, I have fixed my Judgment of the Affairs and Counsels at present in Design or Deliberation here. I apprehend Weather

ther coming, that I shall have no mind to be abroad in; and therefore resolved to get a warm House over my Head as soon as I could: and neither apprehend any Uneasiness of Mind or Fortune in the private Life I propose to myself; unless some public Revolutions should draw both upon me, which cannot touch me alone, and must be borne like a common Calamity.

I cannot find them willing yet to end my Embassy in Form, or give me leave to send over for my Wife and Family; which I easily apprehend the Reason of, and must go through as well as I can; tho' my Expence at the *Hague* be great, and my Hopes little here of getting my Pay, as I find Affairs go and Dispositions too in the Treasury, where all is disposed in a manner by Sir *Thomas Clifford*. In the mean time, I have sent over for my *Spanish* Horse, and intend to send a Groom away with him to *Dublin*, in hopes you will be pleased with him. I can be so with nothing more than the Occasions of expressing always that Duty wherewith I am,

Sir,

London, Nov. 22, 1670.

Your, &c.

LETTER XCVI.

To the SAME.

SIR,

I Am sure you will be pleased with knowing that my Wife and Family are safe arrived from *Holland*, after a Passage that might very well have met with other Dangers besides those of Wind and Weather. I could not obtain

VOL. I.

P

Leave

Leave to send for them till *July*, though I had for some Months solicited both that and the ending of my Embassy: but then his Majesty was pleased to grant me both that Liberty, and also of writing to the States and to Monsieur *de Witt*, to take my Leave of them, and end my Embassy as upon my own Desire, and my own private Occasions, which were indeed enough to engage me in that Pursuit, considering the Charge of maintaining an Ambassador's Family at the *Hague*, while my Payments from the Exchequer went so heavy and so lame.

'Tis true, I had other Reasons long about me, which I kept to myself: for, soon after my coming over, my Wife writ me Word, that Monsieur *Gios* the *Danish* Envoy there, had told her in Confidence, and out of Kindness to me, that Monsieur *Pompe* the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, had acquainted him, that new Measures were taken between our Court and that of *France*; among which one was, that I should be recalled and return no more.

At the same time Monsieur *de Witt* had upon the Delays of my Return, told my Secretary Mr. *Blithwait*, that he should take my Stay or coming back for certain Signs of what the King's Intentions were towards the preserving or changing the Measures he had taken with the States: and had desired him to let the Court know what he said. This I suppose made them unwilling to make a Declaration by my recalling, of what they intended upon this Occasion, before all things necessary were more fully agreed or better concerted. Therefore they continued not only my
Family

Family there for so many Months; and the Talk of my Return, but entertained the *Dutch* Ministers here with such Language as gained in them an Opinion of our Measures still continuing firm upon the same Bottom; and with such a Credulity as was enough to make one doubt whether they were willing to deceive their Masters or to be deceived themselves.

In *July* the *Dutch* Fleet was floating in the Channel; to shew, I suppose, that they were in Condition to meet any of those Dangers they began to suspect from the Motions of *France*, and from our late Conduct. When the Captain of the Yacht that was ordered to convey my Wife over, took his Leave at Court; he had public Orders given him, if he came in Sight of the *Dutch* Fleet, he should sail through them, and shoot at those Ships that were next him, till he made them strike Sail, or till they shot at him again; and then pursue his Course. He pass'd, it seems, into *Holland* without seeing them; but as he returned he met the Fleet, and sailing through them, made several Shot at those near him: upon which they seemed at least not to know what he meant, and to believe he might be in some Distress; and the Admiral sent a Boat aboard him to inquire. The Captain told them, that he had been sent to bring back the *English* Ambassador with her Family from *Holland*; and had Orders to make the *Dutch* Fleet strike where-ever he met them in the Channel. Upon this Message by the Boat, Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* came aboard the Yacht, upon a Compliment to my Wife; which he performed very handsomely, and afterwards desired to speak

with the Captain, of whom he inquired the Reason of his Shooting; and receiving the same Answer which had been given to the first Boat, he said it was a Point they had received no Order in from their Masters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed between his Majesty and the States. But, tho' it were settled, yet the Captain could not pretend, the Fleet and Admiral should strike to a Yacht; which was but a Pleasure-boat, or at least served only for Passage, and could not pass for one of the King's Men of War. The Captain said he had his Orders, and was bound to follow them. After *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain perplex'd enough came to my Wife, and desired to know what she pleased he should do in the Case; which she saw he did not like very well, and would be glad to get out of by her Help. She told him, he knew his Orders best, and what he was to do upon them; which she left to him to follow as he thought fit, without any Regard to her or her Children. He pursued his Course, and landed her safe; after which she went to Court, and was very well received, and much commended for her Part in what had passed: and at Night, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* was sent to take her Examination in Form upon the whole Matter of Fact. When I went next to the King's Levee, he began to speak of my Wife's Carriage at Sea, and to commend it as much as he blamed the Captain's; and said, she had shewed more Courage than he: and then falling upon the *Dutch* Insolence; I said, that however Matters went, it must be confessed that there was some Merit in my Family; since I had made the Alliances with *Holland*, and my Wife was like to have the Honour

Honour of making the War. The King smiled as well as I, who had found this the only way to turn the Discourse into good Humour; and so it ended.

When I went into the King's Closet, I desired to kiss his Hand upon the End of my Ambassy; which he gave me very graciously, and told me he had all the Reason that could be, to be satisfied with my Services. And upon my Desire that he would give me some Help in the Dispatch of my Payments due from the Exchequer, since I was resolved to ask him nothing else; and had been at so great Expence to maintain my Family at the *Hague* so long without their Help: he told me he would speak to the Commissioners of the Treasury to do me Justice; and in the mean time would give me the Plate belonging to my Embassy, which I had still in my Possession. I gave his Majesty my humble Thanks; and he seemed very much pleased to see I took it kindly, and was so easily contented.

And thus an Adventure has ended in Smoak, which had for almost three Years made so much Noise in the World, restored and preserved so long the general Peace, and left his Majesty the Arbitrage of all Affairs among our Neighbours, by the Emperor and *Spain's* Resolutions, as well as *Sweden* and *Holland's*; to follow his Measures for the common Safety and Peace of Christendom.

The *Dutch* Ministers at Court, as ill Noses as they have, began to smell the Powder after the Captain's shooting; and know not what Countenances to set upon it here, and will I doubt be more to seek at their Return. All People are full of the Politics and Expectations

of what will be next, which you must expect to hear from Gazetts and no more from me; who shall not so much as inquire nor care to know; but retire to my Corner at *Sheen*, and endeavour to pass the rest of my Life as quietly and innocently as I can; and for the rest, like a private Man run the Fortune of my Country.

I have been long enough in Courts and public Business, to know a great deal of the World and of myself; and to find that we are not made for one another, and that neither of us are like to alter either our Natures or our Customs: and that in the Course and Periods of public Government, as well as private Life, *Quisq; suos patimur Manes.*

I am sensible this is too long a Trouble; but being like to be the last of this kind, I hope you will forgive it among many others you have been content with from

Sir,

Your most obedient Son,

London, Sept. 14,

1671.

and most humble Servant.

L E T T E R XCVII.

Sir William Temple to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Day before the Prince of Orange left this Place, I attended him at *Hausfledyke* upon his own Appointment; and telling me several times that he had something to say to me before he went into the Field, and desired it might be there, and at some Leisure. When we were alone in the Garden, he was pleased to

to tell me, I would easily believe the Instances of the State, and of his Friends, as well as the Condition of his Family, must needs have put him often upon the Thoughts of marrying? but he had been still in Hopes that the Conclusion of a Peace would have made way for it sooner than he now thought it was like to do: for at present, he did not see when or how that could be brought about, unless your Majesty would resolve upon such Conditions as you should think fit to have it made upon; and to propose them to the Parties, who were otherwise too distant in their Pretensions to agree easily themselves. That upon this Prospect he began to think, his Marriage could not longer attend upon the Motions of the Peace, which might be very slow and uncertain; and therefore he would tell me freely, that he was resolved, in case he returned from this Campaign, to neglect no Time or Places that could be made in the Pursuit of it. That for the Person, I might be sure his Inclinations would lead him into *England*, though he did not know what Dispositions he should meet with there; and while the War lasted, it might on this side admit of much Reflections, both from this State and their Allies. That however he would not go into the Field without writing to your Majesty; and to the Duke, of what he had so much at Heart; and begging the Permission, that immediately after the Campaign ended, he might go over into *England*. That he thought this would be necessary, both that he might make his own Pursuit himself, in an Affair that so nearly concerned him; and that by asking Leave so early, no Time might be lost upon that Occasion, when the Campaign was over. That

he had Reason to desire, this Affair might at present be managed with all the Secrecy that could be, and therefore was resolved to put the Letters concerning it into my Hands, and desired my Wife might deliver them both to your Majesty and his Royal Highness, and that he would take care to send them to me before he went.

This was the Sum of his Highness his Discourse to me when I took leave of him; and his Letters both for your Majesty and the Duke being some Days after come to my Hands, I thought it my Duty to send them according to the Directions I receiv'd from the Prince, and shall leave your Majesty to know the rest from his own Hand; tho' I think I have not mistaken any thing of what he said to me upon this Occasion. I shall not farther increase your Majesty's present Trouble, than by the humble Professions of that perfect Devotion wherewith I am and shall be ever,

Hague, April 23,

Sir,

S. N. 1676.

Your Majesty's, &c.

L E T T E R XCVIII.

Sir William Temple to Sir John Temple.

S I R,

THOUGH I do not trouble you often with public News or Business; yet I am sensible of having too much neglected it of late, considering what has passed; which I know you will be more pleased with than any you have been entertained with a great while. For I remember how often and how much you have desired to see the Prince of *Orange* married here; not only from your good Wishes to him, but

but from your Apprehensions of some greater Matches that might befall us, and with Consequences ill enough to Posterity as well as to the present Age. I am in a good Deal of Haste at this present Time, and therefore shall sum up a great Deal in a little Room. The Prince of *Orange* came to the King at *Newmarket*, where he was mighty well received both of King and Duke. I made the Acquaintance there between the Prince and my Lord Treasurer; and in such a manner as tho' they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very soon into Confidence.

The Prince said not a Word to any of them of any Thoughts of a Wife while they staid at *Newmarket*; and told me, no Considerations should move him in that Affair till he had seen the Lady. The Day after he saw her here, he moved it to the King and Duke; and tho' he did it with so good a Grace that it was very well received; yet in four or five Days Treaty, it proved to be entangled in such Difficulties, that the Prince sent for me one Night, and uttering his whole Heart, told me, he was resolved to give it over, repenting him from the Heart of his Journey, and would be gone within two Days; and trust God Almighty with what would follow; and so went to Bed the most melancholly that ever I saw him in my Life. Yet before Eleven o'Clock the next Morning, the King sent me to him to let him know he was resolved on the Match, and that it should be done immediately, and in the Prince's own Way.

Thus far, what had pass'd went no farther than the King, the Duke, the Prince, my Lord Treasurer, and me: but, that Afternoon it was

declared at the foreign Committee, and next Day at Council; you will easily imagine with what general Joy. I cannot but tell you, that no Man seems to lay it to Heart so much as my Lord *Arlington*; having had no Part in it; which he could not but take notice of to the Prince, who told me his Compliment to him upon it was, that some Things, tho' they were good in themselves, yet were spoiled by the manner of doing them; but this was in itself so good, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it. I am told he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me; which I must bear as well as I can: but yet, because you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, that it was not only impossible my Lord Treasurer and he should concur in one Thing; but he had likewise lost all the Prince's Confidence and Opinion, since his last Journey into *Holland*. Besides, for my own Part, I found these two Years past, he could not bear my being so well neither with the Prince, nor with the Treasurer; but endeavoured by Sir *Gabriel Sybini* to break the first by Steps which the Prince acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me the last whenever I went to him; though he himself had first advised me to apply myself to my Lord Treasurer all I could, upon my last Embassy into *Holland*: and though I had ever since told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my Lord Treasurer had been so reasonable as to be contented with it.

Since the Marriage, the King and the Prince have fallen into the Business abroad, and agreed upon the Terms of a Peace, which the King will

will offer to *France*, and such as they both conclude will secure *Flanders*. They both agreed that I must of Necessity go to *Paris* immediately upon this Errand, and bring a positive Answer from that Court within a Time prefix'd. I never undertook any Journey more unwillingly, knowing in what Opinion I stand already at that Court; how deeply they resent the Prince's Match without their Communication, or the least Word to their Ambassador here; and with how little Reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this Errand. But the King will absolutely have it; and so I have made all my small Preparations, and think to be gone within two Days; which is all at present, but to ask your Blessing, and assure you of my being.

Sir,

London, Nov. 1677.

Your, Sec.

L E T T E R XCIX.

*Earl of Clarendon to the Duke of York,
on the Dutchess's turning Catholic.*

I Have not presumed in any manner to approach your royal Presence, since I have been marked with the Brand of Banishment; and I would still with the same forbear this Presumption, if I did not believe myself bound by all the Obligations of Duty to make this Address to you. I have been too much acquainted with the Presumption and Impudence of the Times in raising false and scandalous Reproaches upon innocent and worthy Persons of all Qualities and Degrees, to give Credit to those bold Whispers which have been too long scattered abroad concerning your Wife's be-
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ing shaken in her Religion; but when those Whispers break out into Noise, and public Persons begin to report, that the Dutches is become a *Roman Catholic*; when I heard that many worthy Persons of unquestionable Devotion to your Royal Highness are not without some Fear and Apprehension of it, and many Reflections are made from thence to the Prejudice of your Royal Person, and even of the King's Majesty, I hope it may not misbecome me, at what Distance soever, to cast myself at your Feet, and beseech you to look on this Matter in Time, and to apply some Antidote to expel the Poison of it.

It is not possible your Royal Highness can be without Zeal and intire Devotion for that Church, for the Purity and Preservation whereof, your blessed Father made himself a Sacrifice, and to the Restoration whereof you have contributed so much yourself, and which highly deserves the King's Protection, and yours, since there can be no possible Defection in the Hearts of the People, while due Reverence is made to the Church.

Your Wife is generally believed to have so perfect a Duty and intire Resignation to the Will of your Royal Highness, that any Defection in her from her Religion, will be for want of Circumspection in you; and not using your Authority, or to your Connivance. I need not tell the ill Consequence that such a Mutation would be attended with in reference to your Royal Highness, and even to the King himself, whose greatest Security (under God) is in the Affection and Duty of his *Protestant* Subjects. Your Royal Highness knows how far I have always been from wishing, that the *Roman Catholics* should be prosecuted with Severity; but I less wish it should ever be

in their Power to be able to prosecute those who differ from them; since we well know how little Moderation they would or could use.

And if this which People so much talk of (I hope without Ground) should fall out, it might very probably raise a greater Storm against the *Roman Catholics* in general, than modest Men can wish; since after such a Breach any Jealousy of their Presumption would seem reasonable. I have written to the Dutchess with the Freedom and Affection of a troubled and perplexed Father. I do most humbly beseech your Royal Highness by your Authority, to rescue her from bringing a Mischief upon you and herself that can never be repair'd; and to think it worthy your Wisdom to remove and dispel those Reproaches (how false soever) by better Evidence than Contempt; and hope you do believe, that no Severity I have, or can undergo, shall in any Degree lessen or diminish my most profound Duty to his Majesty and your Royal Highness; but that I do with all imaginable Obedience submit to your good Pleasure in all things.

God preserve your Royal Highness, and keep me in your Favour.

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's

most humble

and obedient Servant,

CLARENDON.

LETTER C.

*Earl of Clarendon to the Dutchess of York,
on the same Occasion.*

YOU have much Reason to believe that I have no Mind to trouble you, or displease you, especially in an Argument that is so unpleasant

sant and grievous to myself; but as no Distance of a Place that is between us, in respect of our Residence, or the greater Distance in respect of the high Condition you are in, can make me less your Father, or absolve me from performing those Obligations which that Relation requires from me; so when I receive any credible Advertisement of what reflects upon you, in Point of Honour, Conscience, or Discretion, I ought not to omit the informing you of it, or administering such Advice to you, as to my Understanding seems reasonable; and which I must still hope will have some Credit with you. I will confess to you, that what you wrote to me many Months since upon those Reproaches, which I told you were generally reported concerning your Defection in Religion, gave me so much Satisfaction, that I believed them to proceed from that ill Spirit of the Times that delights in Slander and Calumny. But I must tell you, that the same Report increases of late very much, and I myself saw the last Week a Letter from *Paris*, from a Person who said the *English* Ambassador assured him the Day before, that the *Dutchess* was become a *Roman Catholic*; and which makes greater Impressions upon me, I am assured that many good Men in *England*, who have great Affection for you and me, and who have thought nothing more impossible than that there should be such a Change in you, are at present under much Affliction, with the Observation of a great Change in your Course of Life, and that constant Exercise of that Devotion which was so notorious; and do apprehend from your frequent Discourses, that you have not the same Reverence and Veneration that you used to have for the Church of *England*; the Church in which you was baptized,

baptized, and the Church the best constituted, and the most free from Errors of any Christian Church this Day in the World; and that some Persons by their Insinuations have prevailed with you to have a better Opinion of that which is most opposite to it, the Church of *Rome*, than the Integrity thereof deserves.

It is not yet in my Power to believe, that your Wit and Understanding (with God's Blessing upon both) can suffer you to be shaken farther than with melancholly Reflections upon the Iniquity and Wickedness of the Age we live in, which discredits all Religion; and which with equal Licence breaks into the Professions of all, and prevails upon the Members of all Churches; and whose Members will have no Benefit from the Faith of any Church.

I presume you do not entangle yourself in the particular Controversies between the *Romanists* and us, or think yourself a competent Judge of all Difficulties which occur therein: and therefore it must be some fallacious Argument of Antiquity, and Universality, confidently urged by Men who know less than many of those you are acquainted with, and ought less to be believed by you, that can raise any Doubts and Scruples in you; and if you will with equal Temper hear those who are well able to instruct you in those Particulars, it is not possible for you to suck in that Poison which can only corrupt and prevail over you by stopping your own Ears, and shutting your own Eyes. There are but two Persons in the World who have greater Authority with you than I can pretend to; and are less than they both suffer more in this Rumour, and would suffer much more if there were Ground for it, than I can do: and truly I am

as unlikely to be deceived myself, or to deceive you, as any Man that endeavours to pervert you in your Religion. And therefore, I beseech you let me have so much Credit with you, as to persuade you to communicate any Doubts or Scruples which occur to you, before you suffer them to make too deep an Impression upon you.

The common Argument that there is no Salvation out of the Church, and that the Church of *Rome* is that only true Church, is both Irrational and untrue; there are many Churches in which Salvation may be attained, as well as in any one of them; and were many, even in the Apostles Time; otherwise they would never have directed their Epistles to so many several Churches in which there were different Opinions received; and very different Doctrines taught. There is indeed but one Faith in which we can be saved, the steadfast Belief of the Birth, Passion and Resurrection of our Saviour; and every Church that receives and embraces that Faith, is in a State of Salvation. If the Apostles preached true Doctrine, the Reception and Retention of many Errors does not destroy the Essence of a Church; if it did, the Church of *Rome* would be in as ill, if not in a worse Condition, than most other Christian Churches; because its Errors are of a greater Magnitude, and more destructive to Religion. Let not the canting Discourses of the Universality and Extent of the Church, which has as little Truth as the rest, prevail over you. They who will imitate the greatest Part of the World, must turn Heathens; for it is generally believed, that above one half of the World is possessed by them, and that the *Mahometans* possess above one half of the Remainder. There is as little Question, that of the rest, which is

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inhabited by Christians, one Part of four is not of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; and God knows in that very Communion there is as great Discord in Opinion, and in Matters of as great Moment, as is between the other Christians.

I hear you do in public Discourses dislike some Things in the Church of *England*, as the Marriage of the Clergy, which is a Point which no *Roman Catholic* will pretend to be of the Essence of Religion, and is in use in many Places which are of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; as in *Bohemia*, and those Parts of the *Greek* Church which submit to the *Roman*: and all Men know, that in the late Council of *Trent*, the Sacraments of both Kinds, and Liberty of the Clergy to marry, were very passionately pressed both by the Emperor and King of *France* for their Dominions; and it was afterwards granted to *Germany*, though under such Conditions as made it ineffectual; which however shews that it was not, nor ever can be look'd upon as a Matter of Religion. Christianity was many hundred Years old before such a Restraint was ever heard of in the Church; and when it was endeavour'd, it met with great Opposition, and was never submitted to. And as the positive Inhibition seems absolutely unlawful, so the Inconveniences which result from thence, will upon a just Disquisition be found superior to those which attend the Liberty which the Christian Religion permits. Those Arguments which are not strong enough to draw Persons from the *Roman* Communion into that of the Church of *England*, when Custom and Education, and a long stupid Resignation of all their Faculties to their Teachers, usually shuts out all Reason to the contrary; may yet be abundant.

that I may not be admitted in such a Season as this, to confer with you, when I am confident I would satisfy you in all Doubts, and make it appear to you, that there are many Absurdities in the *Roman* Religion, inconsistent with your Judgment and Understanding; and many Impieties inconsistent with your Conscience; so that before you can submit to the Obligations of Faith, you must divest yourself of your natural Reason and common Sense, and captivate the Dictates of your Conscience, to the Impositions of an Authority which has not any Pretence to oblige, or advise you. If you will not with Freedom communicate the Doubts which occur to you, to those near you, of whose Learning and Piety you have had such Experience, let me conjure you to impart them to me, and to expect my Answer before you suffer them to prevail over you.

God bless you and yours.

L E T T E R C I.

The Dutchess's Answer.

WHEREAS I have been ever from my Infancy bred up in the *English* Protestant Religion, and have had very able Persons to instruct me in the Grounds thereof; and I doubt not but I am exposed to the Censure of an infinite Number of Persons, who are astonished at my quitting it, to embrace the Religion of the *Roman Catholics*; (for which I have ever professed a great Aversion) and therefore I have thought fit, to give some Satisfaction to my Friends, by declaring unto them the Reasons upon which I have been moved to do it; without engaging myself in long and unprofitable Disputes touching the Matter.

I. pro.

I protest therefore before God, that since my coming into *England*, no Person, either Man or Woman, hath at any time perswaded me to alter my Religion; or hath used any Discourses to me upon that Subject. It hath been only a particular Favour from God, who hath been graciously pleased to hear the Prayers I daily made unto him, both in *France* and *Flanders*, whilst I was there; that he would vouchsafe to bring me into the true Church before I died, in case I was not in the Right. And it was the Devotion I observed in the *Catholics* there, which induced me to make that Prayer; altho' my own Devotion during all that Time was very slender. I did notwithstanding, all the Time I was in those Countries, believe I was in the true Religion; neither had I the least Scruple of it, until *November* last; at which Time, reading Dr. *Heylin's* History of the Reformation, which had been highly recommended to me, I was so far from finding, the Satisfaction I expected, that I found nothing but Sacrileges; and looking over the Reasons therein set down, which caused the Separation of the Church of *England* from that of *Rome*, I read three there, which to me, were great Impieties. The First was, That *Henry VIII.* had cast off the *Pope's* Authority, because he would not permit him to quit his Wife, and marry another.

The Second, That during the Minority of *Edward VI.* his Uncle, the Duke of *Somerset*, who then governed all, and was the Principal in that Alteration, did greatly enrich himself with the Goods of the Church, which he engrossed.

And the Third consisted in this, That *Queen Elizabeth* not being rightful Heir to the Crown, could

could not keep it, but by renouncing a Church, which would never have allowed of such Injustice. I could not be persuaded the Holy Ghost would ever have made use of such Motives as these were, to change Religion, and was astonished that the Bishops, if they had no other Intention than to establish the Doctrine of the primitive Church, had not attempted it before the Schism of *Henry VIII.* which was grounded upon such unjustifiable Pretences.

Being troubled with these Scruples, I began to make some Reflections upon the points of Doctrine wherein we differed from the *Catholics*; and to that Purpose had recourse to the Holy Scripture, and though I pretend not to be able perfectly to understand it, I found notwithstanding several Points, which seemed to me very plain; and I cannot but wonder that I staid so long without taking notice of them. Amongst these, were the Real Presence of our Saviour in the Sacraments, the Infallibility of the Church, Confession, and Prayers for the Dead. I treated of these Particulars severally, with two of the most learned Bishops of *England*; and advising upon these Subjects, they told me, that it was to be wish'd, that the Church of *England* had retained several Things it altered: as for Example, Confession, which, without Doubt, is of divine Institution. They told me also, that Prayer for the Dead, had been in Use in the primitive Church, during the first Centuries; and that they themselves did daily observe those things, though they desired not publicly to own those Doctrines. And having pressed one of them something earnestly touching those things, he frankly told me, that if he had been bred up in the *Catholic* Religion, he should not have left it: but now being

ing a Member of that Church, which believed all the Articles necessary to Salvation, he thought he should do ill to quit it, because he was beholden to that Church for his Baptism, and he should thereby give Occasion of great Scandal to others.

All these Discourses were a Means to increase the Desire I had to embrace the *Roman Catholic Religion*, and added much to the inward Trouble of my Mind; but the Fear I had to be hasty in a Matter of that Importance, made me act warily, with all Precautions necessary in such a Case. I pray'd incessantly to God, that he would be pleased to inform me in the Truth of these Points, whereof I doubted. Upon *Christmas Day*, going to receive at the King's Chapel, I found myself in greater Trouble than ever I had been in, neither was it possible for me to be at quiet, until I had discovered myself to a certain Catholic who presently brought me a Priest. He was the first of them with whom I ever conversed, and the more I conversed with him, the more I found myself to be confirmed in the Resolution I had taken. It was, I thought, impossible to doubt of these Words, *This is my Body*; and I am verily persuaded, that our Saviour who is Truth itself, and hath promised to continue with his Church to the World's End, would never suffer these holy Mysteries to the Laity, only under one Kind, if it was inconsistent with his Institution of that Sacrament.

I am not able to dispute touching these things with any body, and if I were, I would not go about to do it, but I content myself to have wrote this, to justify the Change I have made of my Religion; and I call God to witness, I had not done it, had I believed I could have been

been saved in that Church, whereof till then I was a Member. I protest seriously, I have not been induced to this, by any worldly Interests or Motives, neither can the Truth of this my Protestation be rationally doubted by any Person, since it was evident that thereby I lost all my Friends, and very much prejudiced my Reputation; but having seriously considered with myself, whether I ought to renounce my Portion in the other World, to enjoy the Advantages of my present Being here, I assure you I found it no Difficulty at all, to resolve the contrary, for which I render Thanks to God, who is the Author of all Goodness.

My only Prayer to him is, that the poor Catholics of this Kingdom, may not be prosecuted upon my Account, and I beseech God to grant me Patience in my Afflictions, and that what Tribulations soever his Goodness has appointed for me, I may so go through with them, as that I may hereafter enjoy a Happiness for all Eternity.

Given at *St. James's* the
20th of *August*, 1670.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.



